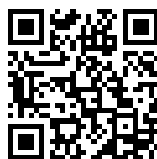

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DISCOURSES
ON
THE PROPHECIES
RELATING TO ANTICHRIST.

DISCOURSES
ON
THE PROPHECIES
RELATING TO ANTICHRIST
IN
THE WRITINGS OF DANIEL AND ST. PAUL;
PREACHED BEFORE
THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN,
AT THE DONNELLAN LECTURE,
M.DCCC.XXXVIII.

BY
JAMES HENTHORN TODD, B.D., M.R.I.A.,
FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, AND TREASURER OF
ST. PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL, DUBLIN.

"I hold it for a most infallible rule in expositions of sacred Scripture, that where a literal construction will stand, the farthest from the letter is commonly the worst. There is nothing more dangerous than this licentious and deluding art, which changeth the meaning of words as alchemy doth or would do the substance of metals, maketh any thing of what it listeth, and bringeth in the end all truth to nothing."—HOOKER.

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TO
THE REVEREND
SAMUEL ROFFEY MAITLAND,
LIBRARIAN TO HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY;
AS AN HUMBLE TESTIMONY
TO THE GREAT VALUE OF HIS WRITINGS
IN THE INTERPRETATION OF PROPHECY,
AND AS AN ACKNOWLEDGMENT
OF THE ASSISTANCE DERIVED FROM THEM
IN THE COMPOSITION OF THE FOLLOWING PAGES,
THIS VOLUME IS INSCRIBED
BY HIS SINCERE AND AFFECTIONATE FRIEND,
THE AUTHOR.

"Neque enim tanta est meæ pusillitatis auctoritas, qui nihil sum, et invidorum tantum morsibus pateo, quanta eorum qui nos in Domino præcesserunt. Nec juxta Pythagoræ discipulos, præjudicata doctoris opinio, sed doctrinæ ratio ponderanda est. Si quis autem contrariæ factionis immurmurat, quare eorum explanationes legam, quorum dogmatibus non acquiesco, sciat me illud Apostoli libenter audire : *Omnia probate, quod bonum est tenete* : et Salvatoris verba dicentis : *Estote probati nummularii* ; ut si quis nummus adulter est, et figuram Cæsaris non habet, nec signatus est, Moneta publica, reprobetur. Qui autem Christi faciem claro præfert lumine, in cordis nostri marsupium recondatur. Meum propositum est antiquos legere, probare singula, retinere quæ bona sunt, et a fide Ecclesiæ Catholicæ non recedere."

B. Hieron. Epist. ad Minervium et Alexandrum, (ad finem.)

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following Discourses were preached in the Chapel of Trinity College, Dublin, during the months of October and November, 1838; and it is hoped that the size of the volume will sufficiently account for the time that has elapsed between their delivery and their publication. The delay has arisen chiefly from the labour of collecting and arranging the materials brought together in the notes; and they who have had any experience in such matters, will not feel surprised to find that this has taken almost a year. The author, however, thinks it right to mention, that after about four hundred of the following pages were printed off, he was forced by the necessity of relaxation which his health required, to interrupt the progress of the work for upwards of two months.

TRIN. COLL. DUBLIN,
Dec. 15, 1839.

EXTRACT

FROM

THE REGISTER OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

“ Feb. 22, 1794. Whereas a legacy of £1243 has been bequeathed to the College of Dublin, by Mrs. Anne Donnellan, of the parish of St. George, Hanover-square, in the County of Middlesex, spinster, for the encouragement of religion, learning, and good manners; the particular mode of application being intrusted to the Provost and Senior Fellows:

“ RESOLVED,

“ 1. That a Divinity Lecture, to which shall be annexed a salary arising from the interest of £1200, shall be established for ever, to be called Donnellan's Lecture.

“ 2. That the Lecturer shall be forthwith elected from among the Fellows of the said College, and hereafter annually on the 20th of November.

“ 3. That the subject or subjects of the Lectures shall be determined at the time of election by the Board, to be treated of in six sermons, which shall be delivered in the College Chapel after Morning Service on certain Sundays, to be appointed on the 20th of November next after the election of the Lecturer, and within a year from said appointment.

“ 4. That one moiety of the interest of the said £1200 shall be paid to the Lecturer as soon as he shall have deli-

vered the whole number of Lectures, and the other moiety as soon as he shall have published four of the said Lectures; one copy to be deposited in the Library of the College; one in the Library of Armagh; one in the Library of St. Sepulchre; one to be given to the Chancellor of the University, and one to the Provost of the College."

CONTENTS.

LECTURE I.

OBJECTIONS TO THE STUDY OF THE PROPHECIES RELATING TO ANTICHRIST CONSIDERED.

DANIEL xii. 4.

But thou, O Daniel, shut up the words, and seal the book, even to the time of the end: many shall go to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased.

End of fulfilled prophecy in relation to unfulfilled, p. 3. Two prejudices against the study of unfulfilled prophecy, viz. I. The attempt to understand it presumptuous, from its designed obscurity. But 1. there must be a lawful use of so large a portion of the word of God; and 2. the obscurity of prophecy cannot be intended as a prohibition to the study of it. The obscurity of prophecy relative. Rendered greater than it ought to be by wrong methods of interpretation, pp. 5—14. II. We cannot attain the real meaning of prophecy, until after its fulfilment; answered, pp. 14—17.

Mede's inference, that the prophecies about Antichrist first began to be understood in the twelfth century.—Refutation of this opinion; 1. It is destitute of Scriptural authority. Real import of the prophecy from which Mede has drawn this conclusion, pp. 17—26. 2. It is not supported by history. The modern doctrine about Antichrist originated with three different families of reputed heretics, pp. 26—34. Evils resulting from controversial expositions of the prophecies, pp. 34, 35. Object and design of these Lectures, pp. 36, 37.

LECTURE II.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S IMAGE, AND DANIEL'S VISION OF THE
FOUR BEASTS.

DANIEL vii. 19, 20.

Then I would know the truth of the fourth beast, which was diverse from all the others, exceeding dreadful, whose teeth were of iron, and his nails of brass; which devoured, brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with his feet; and of the ten horns that were in his head, and of the other which came up, and before whom three fell; even of that horn that had eyes, and a mouth that spake very great things, whose look was more stout than his fellows.

Recapitulation. Controversial applications of the prophecies about Antichrist not always expositions, pp. 41—44. False principles of interpretation assumed by expositors, pp. 45—47. Nebuchadnezzar's vision of the image. The common exposition. Difference of ancient and modern writers in the application of the fourth part of the symbol to the Roman empire, pp. 48—51.

I. Analysis of the prophecy. Characteristics of the fourth kingdom, pp. 52—54. The "stone cut out without hands" not fulfilled at the first preaching of Christianity. Difficulties of Mede's interpretation. The fifth kingdom not figurative, pp. 54—60. The fourth kingdom yet future, pp. 61—62.

II. The prophecy of the four beasts compared with that of the image, pp. 63, 64. Characteristics of the fourth beast coincide with those of the fourth kingdom, pp. 64—66.

III. The fourth kingdom not the Roman empire, p. 67. 1. The Roman empire not now in existence. Inconsistencies of commentators, pp. 67—70. 2. The fourth kingdom to be in existence at the second advent of Christ, pp. 70—73. 3. The ten horns not fulfilled in the Roman empire, pp. 73—75. 4. The first three beasts not identical with the gold, silver, and brass of the image, pp. 75—78. 5. The objection, that no place is left in the prophecy for the empire of Rome, considered. False principles of interpretation betrayed by this objection. Destructiveness no characteristic of the Roman power, pp. 78—84.

Conclusion, pp. 84, 85.

LECTURE III.

THE VISIONS OF THE BEASTS, AND OF THE RAM AND GOAT.

DANIEL viii. 23.

And in the latter time of their kingdom, when the transgressors are come to the full, a king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences, shall stand up.

The opinion that the fourth kingdom is the Roman empire, as held by modern writers, involves more important errors than it did as held by the ancients, pp. 89, 90. Additional particulars revealed in the vision of the beasts, pp. 90, 91. Scriptural use of the term Antichrist, pp. 91—97. Ecclesiastical use of the term, pp. 98—102.

I. Characteristics of the eleventh king, pp. 102—107.

II. Comparison of the eleventh king with the king of fierce countenance. Identity of the power predicted in the two prophecies. From their general characteristics, pp. 107—113. From additional particulars revealed in the vision of the ram and goat, pp. 113—122.

III. General remarks on the inconsistencies and defects of the popular systems of interpretation, pp. 122—131.

LECTURE IV.

THE PROPHECY OF THE WILFUL KING.

DANIEL xi. 36.

And the king shall do according to his will; and he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every god, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods, and shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished: for that that is determined shall be done.

The prophecy of the wilful king a prophetic narrative, without symbolical representation. Its fulfilment still future, pp. 135—137.

I. It relates to the same events predicted in the foregoing visions.

1. From its design and structure. 2. From the identity of the

period in which the events predicted are to take place. 3. The kings described in the two prophecies agree in their history, pp. 137—151.

II. Additional particulars not revealed in the preceding visions. pp. 151—169.

III. Remarks on the principles of interpretation adopted by commentators. 1. The history of Alexander and his successors, not foretold in the prophecy. The assumed division of Alexander's empire into four, untenable, pp. 169—175. 2. Liberties taken with the words of the prophecy by the advocates of this interpretation, pp. 176—178. 3. The common interpretation of the fourfold division, and of "the king of the north," inconsistent. pp. 179—180. 4. The kings of the north and south at the beginning of the prophecy not supposed to be the same who are mentioned at the end of it, pp. 180—182. 5. The prophecy not a chronological prediction of the events of modern history, pp. 182—186.

Causes of the contradictions and discrepancies of commentators. pp. 186—188.

LECTURE V.

THE GREAT APOSTACY AND THE MAN OF SIN.

2 THESS. ii. 3, 4.

Let no man deceive you by any means : for that day shall not come, except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition ; who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped ; so that he as God sitteth in the Temple of God, showing himself that he is God.

St. Paul's prophecy relates to the same events which were foretold by Daniel, pp. 191—192.

I. Object and design of the prophecy. Belief of the Apostolic Church that the second advent of the Lord and the Day of Judgment were at hand. Not inconsistent with the inspiration of the sacred writers, pp. 193—204.

II. Comparison of St. Paul's prophecy with Daniel. 1. The

"falling away" already foretold by Daniel, pp. 204—212. 2. The man of sin identical with the blasphemous king foretold by Daniel, pp. 212—226.

III. Circumstances revealed by St. Paul which were not so clearly foretold by Daniel, pp. 226—232.

IV. Remarks on the popular systems of interpretation, p. 232. 1. The man of sin an individual, p. 233. 2. The main subject of the prophecy already well known to the Thessalonians, pp. 234—243. 3. Ancient and modern commentators differ in their interpretation of "the mystery of iniquity," pp. 244—254. 4. The modern construction which supposes "that which withholdeth" to refer, not to the revelation of the man of sin, but to the coming of the Lord, pp. 255—259. 5. Application of the prophecy to the corruptions of Romanism. Romanism not properly an apostacy from the faith, pp. 259—267. Romanism inadequately opposed by this application of prophecy. Other evils resulting from controversial expositions of the prophecies, pp. 267—272.

LECTURE VI.

THE APOSTACY OF THE LATTER TIMES.

1 TIMOTHY iv. 1—3.

Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils; speaking lies in hypocrisy; having their conscience seared with a hot iron; forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth.

A religious apostacy foretold, p. 275.

I. Identity of the apostacy here described with that foretold in the Epistle to the Thessalonians, pp. 276—281.

II. Characteristics of the apostacy, p. 281. 1. Its nature; Mede's opinion untenable. Saint-worship not founded on a denial of our Lord's Mediation, pp. 281—295. 2. The means or manner of its establishment in the world. (1.) They shall de-

part from the faith "by giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils." Mede's interpretation of this clause refuted. The apostacy will be brought about by the direct agency of evil spirits working miracles, pp. 295—303. (2.) "Speaking lies in hypocrisy, &c." Literal translation of the original. Meaning of the command to abstain from meats. How limited, pp. 303—311.

III. Examination of the interpretations proposed by those Commentators who consider this prophecy as already fulfilled, p. 311. 1. The opinion which supposes it fulfilled by the ancient Gnostic and Manichæan heresies, untenable, pp. 311—316. 2. The opinion which supposes the prophecy fulfilled in the Roman Church, refuted. The corruptions of Eastern Christendom overlooked, in this exposition of the prophecy. The injunction of celibacy and superstitious fasting began before the apostacy. This admission fatal to the systems of these expositors, pp. 316—346.

The Church of Rome still holds the foundation. The controversial expositions of prophecy injurious to the progress of the Reformation. They misrepresent the whole design and use of prophecy. Conclusion, pp. 346—354.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

	PAGE.
NOTE A.—See Lecture I. pp. 18 and 27. Mede's Treatise on Antichrist,	357
NOTE B.—See Lecture I. p. 29. The Canons of Orleans,	423
NOTE C.—See Lecture I. p. 31. The Albigensian and Waldensian Sects,	428
NOTE D.—See Lecture I. p. 34. The Fratricelli and Beguins,	453
NOTE E.—See Lecture IV. p. 176. The Divisions of Alexander's Kingdom,	497
NOTE F.—See Lecture VI. p. 343—345. Mr. Taylor's interpretation of 1 Tim. iv. 1—3,	515

LECTURE I.

B

“Omnes hi divini codicis interpretes antiquiorum incerta et fallacia deserunt vestigia, qui aut reconditos nescio quos sensus, verborum sententia relictæ, ex divinis oraculis, ingenii ope exprimere, aut inepte ad res alienas divertere solebant. Ante omnia contra vim vocabulorum assequi, et quænam illis potestas subjecta sit, indagare student, aurea hac sane omnis interpretationis regula, quam LUTHERUS princeps tulit, adscita: Unus tantum est in omnibus sacris libris verborum sensus. Nec dissimulandum tamen est, plurimos inveteratam illam consuetudinem abditas et retrusas sententias ex divinorum hominum verbis eruendi non totam exuisse, sed in antiqui fœderis vatum oraculis ad res Servatoris nostri trahendis, et futurorum eventuum imaginibus ex veteri Historia colligendis, justo sagaciores fuisse.” Mosheim. *Institt. Hist. Eccl. Sæc. xvi. sect. iii. p. ii. cap. i. 16.*

LECTURE I.

DAN. xii. 4.

“ But thou, O Daniel, shut up the words, and seal the book, even unto the time of the end ; many shall go to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased.”

THE prophecies of Scripture, which have already received a clear and undoubted fulfilment, constitute a body of evidence for the reality of a Divine revelation, which amounts to a sort of perpetual miracle, and can be resisted only by those of whom it is written, that if they believe not Moses and the Prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead. But the fulfilled prophecies, or the evidence for the truth of Christianity which they afford, have an end perhaps to answer, in their relation to the Church itself, more important even than the conviction or conversion of them that are without.

The literal accomplishment of so many evident and indubitable prophecies, is a pledge to the Christian Church, that the promises and predictions whose fulfilment is yet to come, will likewise be brought about, in a manner equally literal and equally unde-

niable. The fulfilment, for example, of God's threatenings of wrath and vengeance on the Jewish people, their dispersion into all lands, towards the four winds of heaven, their being made a proverb, a by-word, and an astonishment,—prophecies whose exact accomplishment we have daily before our eyes,—are a pledge to us that the prophecies of love and mercy, which are in store for that people,—the gathering of them from the heathen, their restoration to the land of promise, and the grafting them again into their own olive tree,—will all be accomplished, in God's good time, as literally and as undeniably. The fulfilment, also, of the prophecies which foretold the first advent of Messiah, his rejection by his own peculiar people, his betrayal, crucifixion, burial, and resurrection, are an assurance and pledge to the Christian Church that the prophecies relating to his second coming, the revelation and destruction of Antichrist, and the final triumph of peace, morality, and religion, will in due time receive as full and as literal an accomplishment.

The prophecies, therefore, which have already been fulfilled, should quicken our faith in such as are still unaccomplished, and more than this, fulfilled prophecy may perhaps furnish us with a useful commentary on the threatenings, the promises, and the hopes that are not yet fulfilled^a; that as all those prophecies, whose accomplishment is undoubted, have

^a “*Secunda pars, quæ est historia ad prophetias, ex duobus relativis constat, prophetia ipsa, et ejus adimpletione. Quapropter tale esse debet hujus operis institutum, ut cum sin-*

been accomplished literally, so we should look for as literal a fulfilment of the things which shall be hereafter.

I. But I am aware that great prejudices exist in many minds against the study of *unfulfilled* prophecy, and that the passage which I have chosen for my text has been appealed to in support of these prejudices. "Is it lawful," it may be asked, "or at least is it expedient to seek for a knowledge of things to come? Daniel was commanded to shut up the words and to seal the book which contained his prophecies; may there not, therefore, be some great presumption involved in all attempts to unlock its mysteries? May it not, for aught we know, amount to an unlawful prying into the hidden things of God, and a seeking to be wise beyond what is written?"

I shall reply to these questions, by pointing out the general grounds upon which I think it can be shown, not only to be lawful, but to be the express duty of the Christian Church to study the prophecies, yea the unfulfilled prophecies of Scripture; and then I shall consider how far the inference deduced from the text is fair or tenable.

1. And, first, let me say, that I have no wish to justify or defend the fanatical abuse, which, to the disgrace of the Christian name, has too often given plausibility to objections like that to which I have

gulis ex scripturæ prophetiis
eventum veritas conjungatur;
idque per omnes mundi ætates,
tum ad confirmationem fidei,
tum ad instituendam discipli-

nam quandam et peritiam in
interpretatione prophetiarum
quæ adhuc restant complen-
dæ." Bacon. De Augm. Sci-
ent. lib. ii. cap. xi.

just alluded : what I contend for is, that there must be a lawful use of so large and important a portion of the word of God. The prophecies of Scripture were given for some great end,—for the edification, the consolation, the warning of the Church ; and we must not suffer the folly or the sin of those who would wrest the sacred words of inspiration to their own unholy purposes, to deter us from a proper inquiry into the true meaning of that which was written for our learning.

To aim at a knowledge of the hidden things of God, to seek for or to affect a knowledge of futurity, beyond what the word of God reveals, would be, undoubtedly, as vain and foolish, as it would be presumptuous and unprofitable. But the written prophecies of Scripture cannot be called the hidden things of God, and to learn, and study, and search into the meaning of what is written, cannot surely be the same thing as endeavouring to be wise beyond what is written. When I would recommend to you, therefore, the study of prophecy,—yea, of unfulfilled prophecy,—it is that you should seek to learn, not the secret things of God, which it has been his pleasure to conceal, but revealed things, which, as written for our learning, are graciously said “to belong unto us and to our children.”

And surely no man who believes the inspiration of the Scriptures will venture to assert, that a knowledge of what holy men of God have been moved by the Holy Ghost to speak on the future destinies of the Church, can be either unnecessary or unprofitable

to the Christian. For what purpose else were such predictions given, if the people of God are not to read or know them, or the ministers of religion to teach them from the pulpit? Will it be said that the prophecies were intended only for the use of those who may live during or after the events predicted; and that the ages to whom the prophecies were given are to receive no benefit whatsoever from the long series of unaccomplished prophecy which is entrusted to their keeping? Why then was there prophecy so long before fulfilment, when the evidence to those who witness the event would have been the same, had the prophecy been only delivered in sufficient time to make it certain that the foreknowledge which dictated it was supernatural^b? Will it be said that the knowledge of such glorious hopes

^b “It is doubtless a mistake to conceive prophecy to be intended solely or chiefly for their sakes, in whose time the events predicted are to happen. What great occasion is there to lay in, so long beforehand, the evidences of prophecy to convince men of things that are to happen in their own times, the truth of which they may, if they please, learn from their own senses? How low an idea does it give of the administration of Providence, in sending prophets, one after another, in every age from Adam to Christ, to imagine that all this apparatus was for their sakes who lived in and after the times of Christ, with little regard to the ages to whom the

prophecies were delivered? As I think the prophecies of the New Testament are chiefly for our sake, who live by faith, and not by sight; so I imagine the ancient prophecies had the like use, and were chiefly intended to support the faith and religion of the old world. Had it been otherwise, a set of prophecies given some few years before the birth of Christ, would have served our purpose as well as a series of prophecies given from the very beginning, and running through every age.” Bp. Sherlock, *Discourses on the Use and Intent of Prophecy*, Disc. II. (Works, vol. iv. p. 27. Oxford, 1812.)

as the universal triumph of the faith, the conversion of the Jewish people, the resurrection of the dead, and the coming of the Lord, is barren or unprofitable? The resurrection of the flesh, and the future appearance of the Lord in glory, are unfulfilled prophecies, the knowledge of which the Church deems so essential, that she has put them into every, even the shortest summary of her faith; and assuredly the expectation of living in the body for ever with the Lord, of seeing him as he is, of sitting down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of God, has been found, by the experience of all ages, to elevate the soul, teaching us to realize, even in the dark places of our earthly pilgrimage, the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen.

And that very different class of prophecies, with which the present course of lectures will be occupied,—wherein not the final triumph of religion, but the apostacy from the Church, the judgments which are to be her punishment, and the reign of Antichrist are predicted,—though less elevating from its very nature, is not the less profitable or necessary for the edification of the Christian. Such predictions were intended to prepare the faithful followers of Christ for the season of trial, of rebuke, and blasphemy, which is at hand; when iniquity shall abound, and the love of many shall wax cold; a season of which it is written that “except those days should be shortened there should no flesh be saved.” And must the Church refuse to hear the warning voice of holy writ,

* Matt. xxiv. 22.

that is sent to strengthen her against this fiery trial ? Is she to be told, that the knowledge of what awaits her in the destinies of Providence, is forbidden knowledge, although it has been written for her learning in the Scriptures of truth ; and although she has been expressly commanded to give heed to it by the words of Him, who said to his disciples, “ behold I have told you before ; ” and who sent and signified to the beloved disciple the Apocalypse of his Father’s will, for the express purpose of showing unto his servants “ things which must shortly come to pass ^d ? ”

^d Matt. xxiv. 25 ; Rev. i. 1. The prejudices against the study of prophecy here briefly noticed, are ably refuted in the first Essay of a volume published under the title of “ *Erubin : or, Miscellaneous Essays on Subjects connected with the Nature, History, and Destiny of Man.* ” Lond. (Nisbet) 1831 ; a work which the student of Holy Scripture will find eminently deserving of his attention. One extract from the Essay alluded to must be here inserted :

“ It is often said, ‘ The prophecies were not intended to make us prophets. ’ If these words are to be taken quite strictly, they are certainly true ; and I do not know that any man ever pretended, that by studying the prophecies he had obtained the gift of prophecy. If there has been any such person, I believe him to have been sadly mistaken. If, however, it is meant that prophecy

was not given in order that we might foreknow and predict future events, it is not true. Yet, from a sort of confused mixture of these two ideas, this saying has been supposed to contain much wisdom and some wit, instead of being seen to be either a mere truism, or a barefaced falsehood. I know that a great writer on the Apocalypse has said, ‘ The folly of interpreters has been to foretel times and things by this prophecy, as if God designed to make them prophets. By this rashness they have not only exposed themselves, but brought the prophecy also into contempt. The design of God was much otherwise ; he gave this and the prophecies of the Old Testament, not to gratify men’s curiosities by enabling them to foreknow things, but that after they were fulfilled they might be interpreted by the event, and his own providence, not the interpreter’s, be then mani-

It is, therefore, not only lawful, but it is the express duty of the Christian Church to seek in the

festated thereby to the world.' Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse, by Sir Isaac Newton. Part II. chap. i. p. 229.

"This passage has been quoted over and over again, whenever it has been thought fit to rebuke any interpreter of prophecy, until it has probably become familiar to most readers. Notwithstanding, however, my respect for Sir Isaac Newton, and for those who have supposed that whatever he said might be safely repeated, I must declare my conviction, that this statement is false and mischievous. The desire which God has implanted in the soul of man, of searching out his own destiny, especially while he seeks to gratify it at the pure fountain of revelation, is most unjustly called *curiosity*, if by that term we are to understand anything which it is certain that the Author of revelation could not intend to encourage by revealing himself, and his counsels to man. Beside this, however, I venture to say, that the main position is false. It is not true—nay, it is most openly and absurdly untrue—to say that the prophecies 'were not given to enable men to foreknow things, but that after they were fulfilled, they might be interpreted by the event.' Let us try the truth of this statement by one or two prophecies, fulfilled and un-

fulfilled. Was the prophecy of the deluge given only that *after* it had been fulfilled it might be interpreted by the event? or was it given that men might *foreknow* the divine purpose? When a divine revelation had been given to Noah, in order that he might be, in the true sense of the word, a prophet, were those who heard him to forbear repeating his words under pain of being sneered at as 'prophets?' Again, were the prophecies of Messiah's first advent given only that they might be 'interpreted by the event?' Did not God vouchsafe those prophecies to gratify the '*curiosity*' (if it must be so called) of those who waited for the consolation of Israel; and to enable them to foreknow the things belonging to their peace? Were the prophecies which our Lord uttered, only to be 'interpreted by the event,' in order that his own providence might be manifested; or did he mean his disciples to *foreknow* that they should be beaten in synagogues, and brought before kings and rulers for his sake? Was our Lord's prophecy of false prophets only intended to show his own foreknowledge? Was not the Apocalypse given to Him, that he might shew unto his servants things that must shortly come to pass? To recur to what has been said,—

prophecies of the Scriptures, for the light that is to guide her amidst the dark trials and painful sufferings that are foretold ; to be ever on the watch for her Master's coming ; to have her loins girded about and her lights burning ; and to take heed, lest, like the first disciples, she should at any time be slow of heart to believe ALL that the prophets have spoken ^c.

2. But it is objected further, "that the prophecies which are as yet unfulfilled, have been expressed in language designedly dark and obscure, lest their true meaning should be fully understood before their fulfilment ; that Daniel, in the text, is commanded to shut up the words and to seal the book, even to the time of the end ; from which we may fairly conclude that all attempts to discover the real import of his prophecies prior to their accomplishment, must be vain and hopeless. If, therefore," it may be said, "this veil of obscurity has been thrown over these predictions, by the express appointment of God, and for wise and necessary purposes, every effort to penetrate the mystery must partake more or less of the presumption of seeking to be wise beyond what is written, inasmuch

are not the various prophecies of the day of judgment given that men may *foreknow* the fact, and be prepared for it ?

"If it be said, that many who repeat this false assertion do not mean to refer to such common topics as the resurrection and the judgment, but to 'certain peculiar views,' or 'to certain particular notions,' I must reply, that people should

say what they mean ; and that, if the prophecies of God were given for our learning, he must be a bold man who undertakes to decide which are worth studying, and which are not. For my own part, I am slow to believe that God has revealed any thing to man which it is not worth his utmost pains to learn."

^c Luke xxiv. 25.

as it is an attempt to discover what God has thought fit to conceal."

In answer to this form of the objection I would say, that all obscurity or difficulty in the prophecies is in its very nature relative ; and although I do not deny that the prophecies are obscure, and designedly obscure, and that there are many of them whose full meaning will be perhaps concealed from the Church until the event shall lift the veil, yet we never can tell how much of the obscurity that hangs over them is intended to remain, until after we have done our utmost to remove it. It is not fair, therefore, to consider the obscurity of prophecy as a discouragement to the study of it, or as an intimation that every attempt to elucidate its meaning is presumptuous and forbidden. For God has dealt with us in the revelation of his will to man, after the analogy of his dealings with us in natural or worldly knowledge, and the difficulties or the obscurity with which he has been pleased to envelope, for the present, so many portions of his holy word, ought to be regarded as analogous to the difficulties we have to contend with in investigating the philosophy of mind and matter, and in analyzing or classifying the phenomena of the material creation. Difficulties in the arts and sciences, which to a past generation were mysterious and insuperable, have now yielded to long and laborious experiments, or to patient thought and calculation ; and, as in natural science, we cannot say how far man's knowledge may in the end be permitted to reach, or what are the phenomena whose real causes

he shall never know, so also in the knowledge of God's word we can never tell how far the obscurity of which we complain, is removeable by sober study and careful comparison of one portion with another, or how far it was intended that this or that prediction should be dark for ever. If God has put within our reach the means of removing the difficulty that now conceals from us the true meaning of any prophecy of Scripture, it cannot be said to be presumption in us to use them, nor can it be asserted that that obscurity was intended to remain, if the means of removing it are at hand or attainable. I maintain, therefore, that it cannot be unlawful, nay, that it is the duty of the Church to know what it is that holy men of God have spoken ; and whether we can understand it now or not, to keep the saying in our hearts, that when the time of its fulfilment comes, we may remember with humble faith and thanksgiving that our Lord and Master had told us beforehand, all that should come to pass^f.

In fact I am persuaded that the difficulties and obscurities which are complained of in the prophecies, are greater to us than they ought to be, and that sufficient cause might be shown, in the wrong methods of interpretation that have been followed, in the false and unscriptural principles that have been assumed as the basis of the popular expositions, and the wrong spirit in which a subject so sacred has been approached, to account for the existence of the difficulties which

^f Luke ii. 51 ; John xvi. 4.

now impede the right understanding of prophecy, even were those difficulties tenfold greater than they are. I am persuaded that much of the obscurity, that now creates such widely discordant systems and theories, has its real source, not in the prophecies, but in the interpreters of them, and that it will disappear, if only the Christian Church would set itself to study the revelations with which she has been favoured, in humility and teachableness, without reference to any modern controversy, however vital or important it may seem to us ; seeking to learn, rather than to interpret, what God has made known ; seeking for truth, for phenomena, for facts, rather than for weapons of controversial warfare. Thus, and thus only, can we hope to separate the doubtful or the unknown from what is the clear and indubitable testimony of Scripture ; thus, and thus only, shall we be enabled to detect the erroneous conclusions that have resulted from the efforts of commentators to elucidate difficulties with which they were not prepared to grapple, or to distort for party purposes the plain and obvious import of the sacred words.

II. This, however, is not the only preliminary objection affecting the design of the present course of lectures, which has been deduced from the text, and which we are bound to examine attentively before we can enter upon our more immediate subject, the consideration of the prophecies which predict the revelation of Antichrist.

In endeavouring to ascertain the true sense and import of these prophecies, it is natural to inquire

how they were received and understood by the primitive Church. Such an inquiry is necessary to complete the history of the interpretation of this remarkable portion of Divine revelation, and is interesting also on other accounts. The opinions entertained by ancient Christian expositors must always be regarded as of great importance, not only as having existed before the great theological controversies that have so warped the judgment of modern commentators, but also because it is reasonable to think, that they, who were but a few generations removed from the Apostles, may have preserved some light which has since been extinguished in the darkness of subsequent times ; or, to use the words of Bishop Horsley, “ that the Christians of the first ages may have had some particular information concerning the last times, which has since been lost, and will be restored only by the event^s. ”

Certain, however, it is, that, in the interpretation of the prophecies relating to Antichrist, and the latter times, the ancient Church was much more

^s “ That it ” [Dan. xi.] “ referred principally to Antichrist, was the opinion of antiquity. And though of late it has been the fashion to hold the fathers cheap, upon the pretence that we are so much better informed than they, having seen so much more of the accomplishment, I cannot but think that the Christians of the first ages had some particular information concerning the last times, which has been since

lost, and will be restored only by the event. And for this reason I cannot but think great attention due to the opinions of antiquity with regard to the ultimate fulfilling of these prophecies, though our friend Dr. Blaney is not afraid to set their authority wholly aside.” Horsley, Letter II. to the Author of “ Antichrist in the French Convention.” Published in the Brit. Magazine, vol. v. (1834), p. 140.

*

nearly unanimous than we have been, since the introduction of what I may perhaps be allowed to term the controversial expositions, wherein the contending parties have sought only to discover their theological opponents in the Antichrist or the apostacy foretold. It is true that there are points in the ancient opinions about Antichrist, which I am far from undertaking to defend; there are points on which ancient as well as modern writers have indulged their imagination, both in going beyond the text of Scripture, and in deducing from it by mystical interpretation a meaning it was never intended to express: but setting these things aside for the present, as not affecting the main question, there are certain great and leading outlines in which the primitive Church is agreed; and it is admitted by the most learned and zealous defenders of the modern system of interpretation, that until about the twelfth century of the Christian era, the conclusions which they have drawn from the prophecies were utterly unknown to the Church^h.

^h "Neque ante hoc tempus," [A. D. 1120], "quicquam ex omni Christianorum memoria auditum fuisse crediderim de Papatu, magno illo et *κρυφαίῳ*; dicto Antichristo, neque alium expectandum esse." Jos. Mede, *Revelatio Antichristi*, Works, p. 722. Lond. 1677, fol.

"Id vero certo constat, factum jam esse in initio seculi xii. ex Tractatu antiquo de Antichristo, qui compositus est

circa A. MCXX. (eum enim annum in *fronte* præfert:) quem integrum exhibet Perrinus; quippe non dubitem verum esse quod alibi scripsit Medus, ante Waldensium, sive priorum Apostolicæ fidei sectatorum confessionem, demonstrari non posse ex historia qui id aperte et planis verbis asseruerint." Vitringa, *Avangelicis Apocalypsis*; Com. in Cap. xvii. 1, 2, p. 747. Amstelod. 1719. 4to.

Here then we are met by the objection to which I have alluded. "We are told in the text," it is said, "that the words are shut up and the book sealed, even to the time of the end; we cannot therefore expect in ancient writers any satisfactory explanation of these prophecies; we should rather look for the discovery of the true interpretation of them in modern times, as being nearer to the time of the end;—if indeed we are justified in expecting any discovery of their meaning until after their complete fulfilment."

This is the substance of the argument employed by the learned Joseph Mede, to set aside the authority of the primitive Church, and to prepare the way for an interpretation of the prophecies about Antichrist, which he admits was unknown to the ancients.

Having shewn that by the time of the end, we are to understand the age in which Antichrist shall begin to be revealed, or the commencement of the long period which he supposes to have been designated in Scripture by the name of "the latter times,"—and having also calculated from the days mentioned by the angel at the end of this chapter, that "the time of the end" would begin about the middle of the twelfth century of the Christian era, he tells us that it is to that period we are to look for the fulfilment of the prediction, "many shall go to and fro, and knowledge" (i. e. knowledge of these prophecies) "shall be increased."

He also endeavours to prove from history, that at the precise period thus marked out, as he conceives, by prophecy, an opinion prevailed in the Church,

that the advent of Antichrist was at hand¹; and that the Waldenses, in a treatise purporting to have been written very early in the twelfth century, had for the first time applied these prophecies to the Papal corruptions, asserting that the state of the Church at that period, and not any individual, was the Antichrist of prophecy, the whore of Babylon, the fourth beast of Daniel, the man of sin, the son of perdition.

All more ancient writers had unanimously agreed, that an individual Antichrist was described in these prophecies, that he was to appear at the end of the world, immediately before the second coming of the Lord, and that he was to be connected with the Jewish, rather than with the Gentile Church. But if Mede's theory be correct, the opinion put forward in the twelfth century, by the Waldenses and other sects that had separated from the Church of Rome, is to be considered as of still higher authority, as being in some sort a fulfilment of prophecy,

¹ Mosheim states on the authority of Abbo abbot of Fleuri, that this opinion of the immediate coming of Antichrist, had been much more generally prevalent at the end of the tenth century, when it was supposed that the thousand years mentioned Rev. xx. 2—4, were about to terminate. (See Mosheim, *Instit. Hist. Eccl. Sæc. x. Part ii. cap. iii. s. 3.*) This however, would be more than a century too early for Mede's calculation; and the opinion could hardly be taken as a supernatural increase of know-

ledge of the true meaning of the prophecies relating to the "time of the end," inasmuch as it was founded upon what every one must now admit to have been a very erroneous interpretation of a passage in the Apocalypse. How far this particular exposition of prophecy was adopted by others besides the individual from whom Abbo tells us he heard it, does not appear. But it is certain that we may find in all ages a disposition to look for the revelation of Antichrist as at hand. See note A.

and therefore itself partaking of a prophetic character^k.

It will not, however, be difficult to point out the unsound foundation upon which the whole of this theory has been built, whether we consider the interpretation of Scripture which it assumes, or the inferences drawn from the facts in ecclesiastical history to which it refers.

1. First, then, let us inquire whether there is any real Scriptural authority for this opinion.

The calculation from which Mede has derived his main position, that "the time of the end," or the coming of the Antichrist, began in the twelfth century, depends altogether on the untenable assumption that *days* in prophetic language denote *years*; an assumption, which an eminent living writer has so completely refuted¹, that no theory built upon it

^k See Mede's tract entitled *Revelatio Antichristi, sive de numeris Danielis mcccxc. md.ccc.xxxv.* Works, p. 717.

¹ I allude to the Rev. S. R. Maitland's valuable tracts, "The first and second Inquiry into the Grounds on which the prophetic Period has been supposed to consist of 1260 Years;" "The 1260 Days, in reply to a review in the Morning Watch;" and "A Letter to the Rev. W. Digby, A. M., occasioned by his Treatise on the 1260 Days." The question, as far as it depends on Hebrew criticism, has been ably discussed by the Rev. Alexander M'Caul, D.D., of Trinity College, Dublin, in

his "Remarks on an Article in the ninth Number of the Morning Watch, London, Nisbet, 1831," and the following extract from a celebrated foreign theologian will give the reader the judgment of another eminent Hebrew scholar, on the arguments by which the modern doctrine is supported: he is commenting on the words of Sir John Marsham, who had said, "*Nam dies pro anno sumi potest, juxta prophetica loquendi morem,*" referring to Num. xiii. 14, and Ezek. iv. 6. To this Wagenseil replies:—"Minime hoc fieri potest. Etenim haudquaquam in Scripturis, ceu Marshamus noster velle

can now be considered as requiring any further confutation. I shall not therefore detain you by repeating the arguments employed by the writer to whom I allude, and other learned men, to overturn this principle; it may be enough to remark, that every prophecy, which is already known to have been fulfilled, and in which days or years are mentioned, can be shown to have been fulfilled by literal days, and literal years^m; and that the opinion that a day, in prophetic language, means a year, and a year, three hundred and sixty years, is an arbitrary assumption, destitute of any Scriptural evidence, and which, even

videtur, ימים *dies* in unitatis numero, pro anno uno, et ימים in plurali notione plures annos innuit, sed sola vox ימים in plurali numero, anni significatum admittit, et quidem hæc non nisi de anno unico accipitur. Hinc Jud. xi. 40, מימים ימינה *a diebus ad dies*, hoc est *de anno in annum ibant filiae Israelitarum ad plangendum filiam Jephthe* Lev. xxv. 29. *Cum quis vendiderit domum, &c.* ימים תהיה נאלי *per dies erit redemptio ejus: id est per annum durabit jus eam redimendi* et donec compleatur שנה תמימה *annus integer*, uti fit explicatio commate sequenti. 1 Sam. xxvii. 7. *Et fuit numerus dierum, quibus habitavit David in agro Philistæorum* ימים וארבעה חרשים *dies (i. e. annus) et quatuor menses*. Loca quæ Marshamus in margine allegavit, non faciunt ad institutum. Scilicet, Num. xiii. 13, 14, prorsus nihil habetur

quod aliqua ratione huc pertineat. Voluit fortasse provocare ad locum ibi c. ix. 22. Sed is nostræ favet causæ, nec ימים nisi pro unico anno ponitur. Alter locus Ezek. iv. 6, æque nihil probat, ibi enim tantum Propheta super latus dextrum et sinistrum tot dies cubare jubetur, quot annos Deus Domus Israelis et Domus Judæ peccata tacitus pertulerat. Hic ergo vox *dies* ad *annum* significandum, physice, ut ita loquar, adhibetur, non grammatice: extatque locus plane similis Num xiv. 34." Wagen-seil, Mantissa de LXX. hebdomadibus Danielis adversus Johannis Marshami Eq. Aur. Angli novam earundem interpretationem, p. 60. (Tela Ignea Satanæ, ad finem.)

^m See this argument fully stated and developed in Mr. Maitland's Second Inquiry, p. 26, et seq.

those commentators who most warmly advocate it, are unable uniformly to adhere to^a.

There is, therefore, no reason whatsoever for supposing that the twelfth century was the period designated in the prophecy as the time of the end, or that any peculiar light was *then* to be shed upon the true meaning of the prophecies relating to Antichrist and the latter times. On the contrary, it seems clearly implied in the prophecy, that the period spoken of shall be connected with the restoration of the Jews, and not long before the resurrection and final judgment; for "at that time," (said the angel,) "thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book. And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt^o."

Again, it should be observed, that it is rather of the time when the events predicted are to take place, than of the events themselves, that it may be fairly

^a Thus, for example, none of these writers, so far as I know, maintain that the "thousand years," mentioned Rev. xx. are to be understood in what they call "the language of prophecy," i. e. as meaning three hundred and sixty thousand ordinary lunar years. Yet surely, if what these expositors tell us of the "prophetic style" be true, consistency would require this interpretation.

^o Dan. xii. 1, 2. The same inference may be drawn from

ver. 13, as has been remarked by St. Jerome. "*Tu autem Daniel, &c. Pro quo Theodotio ita interpretatus est. Tu autem vade et requiesce et resurges in ordine tuo in consummatione dierum. Quo verbo ostenditur omnem prophetiam vicinam esse resurrectioni omnium mortuorum: quando et Propheta surrecturus est.*" Comment. in loc. (Opp. tom. v. part ii. p. 730; Ed. Vallarsii et March. Scip. Maffei. Venet. 1768.)

^s The same conclusion, nearly, has been drawn from this passage by Bishop Sherlock. "The prophet Daniel, after a very extraordinary vision, which he reports in his last chapter, immediately adds, '*I heard, but I understood not; then said I, O my Lord, what*

of the dead, the final judgment of mankind, and the end of this present world, has been or shall be vouchsafed to us in prophecy. This, therefore, may lead us to the true signification of the expression, "shut up the words and seal the book," which most probably refers, not to the obscurity or difficulty of the prophecy, but to the fact, that no further revelations were to be made to Daniel, and that the events foretold were to be accomplished at a period, beyond which no prophecy extended, and until which no further knowledge of futurity should be given to mankind. In this sense, the same language has been used in another well known passage of the book of Daniel:—"seventy weeks are determined upon thy people, and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and *to seal up* the vision and prophecy." Here the phrase is generally understood to imply, either the cessation of further prophetic communications, or the complete fulfilment of those previously given; and it is manifest, that it cannot possibly signify the obscurity or difficulty of the visions to which it refers.

From this view of the text, therefore, it appears, that "the time of the end" is probably a period not very long preceding the second coming of the Lord, and the general resurrection; that if we are to consider the command "to shut up the words, and seal the book," as indicating any peculiar obscurity in the prophecy, whereby its true meaning is to remain concealed until the event reveals it, we must at least

restrict this obscurity to the *times* and *seasons* in which the fulfilment is to take place; but that the true meaning of shutting up the words, and sealing the book, is rather to be found in the fact, that the events then made known to Daniel reached to the end of that period, within which the voice of prophecy was to be restrained, and beyond which its testimony should not extend ^v.

It follows, therefore, that no Scriptural authority whatsoever can be derived from the text, for Mede's assertion that the opinions of the primitive Church on the prophecies which relate to Antichrist and the latter times, are unworthy of our attention; and that the twelfth century has been marked out in prophecy

^v This is in accordance with the opinions of the Jews, who tell us that prophecy relates only to the days of Messiah, and does not extend to the world to come; thus we read in the Gemara,

אמר ר' חייא בר אבא כל הנביאים לא נתנבאו אלא לימות המשיח אבל לעולם הבא עין לא ראתה אלהים וגו'

"R. Chija bar Abba hath said, all the prophets have prophesied only of the days of the Messiah; but of the world to come, [it is written,] Eye hath not seen, O God, &c. (Is. lxiv. 4.)" Cod. Schabbath, fol. 63.

And R. Judah, son of Bezael, a Polish Rabbi of the sixteenth century, commenting on this passage, says :

לא היו יכולים להתנבאות רק לימות המשיח במה שענין המשיח ענין ע' ה'

ואינו נבדל מן האדם לגמרי שהרי הוא בעולם הזה אבל עולם הבא שנבדל מן הע' ה' אין בו נבואה כי עין לא ראתה אותו ואין הנביא מתנבא רק בראיה כמו שהתבאר:

"They were not able to prophesy except of the days of the Messiah, because the business of the Messiah is a business of this world, and is not separated from man, by any means, seeing he is in this world. But of the world to come which is separated from this world, there is no prophecy, because [it is written] Eye hath not seen it; and no prophet prophesieth except by vision, as hath been explained." Gebhuroth Adonai, fol. 2, col. 2. (apud Jac. Rhenferdii Diss. de seculo futuro; in Meuschen Nov. Test. ex Talmude illustr. p. 1144.)

as the season in which the true interpretation of these predictions was to have been revealed to the Christian Church.

2. This latter part of Mede's theory, however, will require some further consideration; for although it is destitute, as we have seen, of all Scriptural authority, yet if it be a fact, that at the period alluded to, another interpretation became popular, and has ever since continued to have numerous and zealous advocates, the new opinion may not be altogether undeserving of our attention.

Two questions, therefore, here present themselves. Is this new interpretation reconcileable with the sacred text? And if not, how is its origin and popularity to be accounted for?

The former of these questions will receive, I hope, a full discussion in the course of lectures, which has been now commenced; and I shall therefore confine myself for the remainder of this discourse to the latter.

With whom did the new doctrine originate? Were its authors qualified, either by learning, or piety, or knowledge of holy Scripture to propose an interpretation, which was to supersede the opinions and judgment of all the learned and holy men that went before them? Were they persons so free from prejudice and party spirit, so full of candour, honesty, and meekness of wisdom, that we should receive their interpretation as likely to be in accordance with the mind of the Spirit of God?

A very brief review of the ecclesiastical history of

the times will enable us, perhaps, to answer these questions. The new exposition originated with various sects, who on different grounds, were at that time engaged in actual warfare with the see of Rome, and how little ought to be attributed to the judgment of such expositors, on a question where there was so much of passion and of interest to mislead them, will appear from the following observations.

In the first place, I would remark, that Mede is in error in attributing the origin of the new doctrine of Antichrist to the Waldenses; and it may easily be shewn, that the document from which he derived this opinion, if it be of Waldensian origin at all, is manifestly the production of a period much later than that to which it pretends^w.

When I speak of the modern doctrine about Antichrist, it is necessary perhaps to explain, that the opinion which appears to have originated in the twelfth century, among the sects that had separated from the communion of Rome, was not exactly that which became popular afterwards at the period of the Reformation; it consisted in the assertion, that the Roman Church was the beast or harlot predicted in the Apocalypse; and that the recognition of the principle, that Christians might hold temporal possessions, was a departure from the pure doctrine of Christ and his Apostles, who, by their voluntary poverty, had

^w A full examination of Mede's authorities, and in particular of the claims of this Waldensian treatise to the an-

tiquity assigned to it, will be found in note A at the end of the volume.

set an example of Christian perfection, which all who were Christ's were bound to follow. It was not, however, until the Roman See had persevered for some time in persecuting the advocates of these, and other still more pernicious doctrines, that the modern opinion received its complete development. At first, perhaps, the individual pontiff, then actually reigning, was regarded as the Antichrist, and afterwards, when other Popes carried on the same persecuting policy, and no reason existed for ascribing this odious character to one more than to the other, it was found necessary to maintain, that not any individual, but the whole series of Roman bishops, were intended in the prophecies of Scripture.

These opinions, or modifications of them,—that is to say, opinions asserting the Roman Church to be either in itself, or in its visible head, the fulfilment of those prophecies which by the ancients were referred to Antichrist and the latter times,—were popular with three different, and in their origin and doctrine independent, families of reputed heretics in the ages preceding the Reformation.

In the middle of the eleventh century, numerous emigrants from Thrace and the East^x had

^x The earliest record of this class of heretics in Europe is probably the Synod of Orleans, assembled, according to D'Achery, "circiter 1017," or according to others 1022, (Pagi. ad annal. Baronii, an. 1017, num. 1.) for the purpose of condemning certain canons

of the Holy Cross in that city, who had become zealous converts to a heresy said to have been introduced by an Italian woman. "Fertur namque a muliere quadam ex Italia procedente hæc insanissima hæresis in Galliis habuisse exordium." (Glæber Rodolphus,

established themselves in the north of Italy, and especially in the neighbourhood of Milan; and some despising a fixed habitation, or unable to obtain one, itinerated throughout various parts of France and Germany. The doctrines of these sects exhibit various shades of extravagancy and error, and appear to have had a close affinity with the oriental Manichees or Paulicians from whom they are historically descended. They are accused of holding that the material world was the work of an evil being, and not of the Supreme Deity; that the incarnation and crucifixion of the Lord were therefore visions, or at least so far unreal events as to be disconnected with matter; that abstinence from flesh and wine was necessary to salvation; that marriage was a carnal state, and inconsistent with Christian perfection.—They are said also to have rejected the authority of

Hist. lib. iii. cap. 8, quoted by Baronius, Annal. ad an. 1017, num. 1.) It does not appear that they held any peculiar views about Antichrist, or the connexion of the Church of Rome with prophecy; nor is it quite certain that they were Manichæans, although some of the doctrines and practices ascribed to them seem to have had that tendency. See Baronius, ubi supra, and the *Gesta Synodi Aurelianensis* ap. D'Achery Spicil. tom. i. p. 604. Mosheim has thus expressed his opinion of the doctrine for which they suffered, "Si quid ego video, mystici fuerunt hi Aurelianenses Manichæi, qui

externum Dei cultum spernebant, vim omnem cærimoniis, et sacramentis etiam, adimebant, religionem interiori animi ad Deum resque divinas elatione, aut contemplatione, contineri putabant, denique de Deo, de tribus in Deo personis et anima subtiliter et subtilius quam hæc ætas ferebat, philosophabantur. Tales homines ex Italia profecti sequentibus sæculis universam fere Europam inundarunt, et *Fratres liberi spiritus* in Germania, aliisque provinciis *Beghardi* appellati sunt." Sæc. xi. part. ii. cap. 5. s. 3. See more on this subject, note B.

the Old Testament, as the work of the evil principle; and to have condemned the temporal possessions and rank of the clergy, on the ground that the true Church of Christ should imitate to the letter the poverty of the first apostles; they despised all external religion, ridiculed the office and powers of the priesthood, the efficacy of the sacraments, and especially the use of baptism.

But at the close of the next century another sect arose, the followers of the celebrated Peter Waldo. The doctrine taught by these reformers was free from the Manichæan errors of the Albigensian and Paulician heretics; they inveighed against the superstitious and idolatrous practices then sanctioned by the clergy, and although, in their zeal against these gross abuses, they ran into the opposite extremes, and adopted unsound and dangerous errors as to the inefficacy of the sacraments, the necessity of absolute poverty, and the unlawfulness of oaths, yet the pure and holy doctrines which in the main formed the substance of their teaching, together with the general innocence of their lives, procured them extensive popularity in almost every part of Europe.

Condemned, therefore, for their opposition to ecclesiastical authority as well as for their real or reputed heresies, it was natural for these sects to view with peculiar hostility the power which persecuted them with unrelenting severity even unto death. The Catharist and Albigensian sects, while they claimed to be themselves exclusively the true Church of Christ, were easily led by their Manichæan tendencies

to regard their enemies as the malignant church of the evil principle. The Waldensian sects, on the other hand, although they had no Manichæan errors to give countenance to this opinion of a twofold church, yet when they were excommunicated by the papal power, easily discovered in the beast of the Apocalypse an apt emblem of their persecutors⁷, and thus originated, at the close of the twelfth century, the opinion since so plausibly put forward with such shew of learning, that the Roman Church is a church of malignants, the Synagogue of Satan, the beast and harlot described in the Apocalypse.

The third class of heretics, amongst whom a similar doctrine prevailed, arose in the bosom of the Church of Rome itself. The great popularity of the sects, to whose history I have alluded, afforded a lesson which was not lost upon the court of Rome; and accordingly, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, the papal sanction was given to the proposal of certain zealous individuals for the establishment of the mendicant orders, upon principles which embraced every thing that was attractive to the multitude in the discipline of the heretics, while pains were taken to retain their votaries in strict obedience to the papal authority. These orders acknowledged the great principle so vehemently contended for by the Vaudois and other reputed heretics, that voluntary poverty was the primary virtue of the Christian religion, the necessary condition of Christian perfec-

⁷ See note C.

tion, and the true mode of imitating our Lord and his disciples ; and thus a door was opened by which the diseased and dissatisfied spirits, who would otherwise perhaps have joined the ranks of the heretical revolutionists, were afforded a field for the exercise of their zeal and devotion, and at the same time retained in the communion of the Roman Church. But although the stream of heresy was thus apparently turned into a less dangerous channel, and made subservient to the ambitious projects of the see of Rome, yet the evil broke out afresh in a new and unexpected form. The Franciscan order, especially, soon split into factions which reproduced all the most fatal errors of the heretics, and set the papal power at defiance. The rule of poverty admitted of laxer or of severer interpretation, and furnished the first great subject of internal division among the brethren of St. Francis. The fanatical opinion also, that the life of St. Francis was an exact imitation of the life of our Lord, and that in him were fulfilled many prophecies, especially of the Apocalypse, soon led to serious evils. The *spiritual* Franciscans, as they were called, who maintained the absolute illegality of all possessions, under any pretence or fiction whatsoever, were also distinguished for an affectation of prophetic powers, and for peculiar interpretations of the book of Revelation. They insisted that St. Francis was the angel whom the apostle had seen in vision flying in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach to them that dwell on the earth ; and that the mendicant friars of his order were destined, like the apos-

tles of our Lord, to introduce a new dispensation which should regenerate the Church and the world. The court of Rome, as was naturally to have been expected, opposed these extreme opinions, and supported the modified interpretation of the Franciscan rule; and hence, notwithstanding many efforts to appease the storm, the spiritual Franciscans soon attacked the papal chair itself. At the close of the thirteenth century, indeed, an effort was made to reunite them to the Roman Church, by erecting them into a separate order under the name of Celestine-Eremites^{*}, but the evil was too deeply rooted to admit of so easy a cure, and soon ended in their total separation from the order, and from the Church. The Fratricelli, which was one of the names assumed by the new separatists, denied the right of the Sovereign Pontiff himself to interpret or to dispense with the letter of their rule; they maintained that they themselves were the true Church of Christ, that the bishops and priests of the Roman Communion were no longer true bishops or priests; that the Church of Rome was the synagogue of Satan, the beast or harlot of the Apocalypse. They asserted that the Gospel preached by Christ and his Apostles was an imperfect and temporary dispensation like that of Moses, that St. Francis was the inspired founder of a new and more glorious gospel, which was to be preached in all the world by the mendicant friars of

* *Pauperes Eremitæ Domini Cælestini*, so called from Pope Celestine IV. their founder in

1294. (*Raynaldi Annal. sub an. 1294, num. 26.*)

his order, and which was destined to endure for ever^y.

Are these then, I would ask, the expositors from whom the Church of Christ is to receive the true interpretation of the prophecies, and in whom we are to recognize the fulfilment of the prediction, "many shall go to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased?" Are these the expositors whose bare assertion that their enemies are the Antichrist, is to be received as itself the fulfilment of prophecy, and a proof that "the time of the end" is arrived? And let me ask also, what have we gained by adopting such an exposition? Has it restored unity to the Church? Has it carried with it the intelligent conviction of all impartial readers of the Bible? Has it enabled us to confute the infidel, by pointing out to him the clear and undeniable fulfilment of an undoubted prophecy? Alas, brethren, it is too notorious that these questions must be answered in the negative. Seven centuries have now elapsed since this interpretation of the prophecies was first suggested, and fourteen centuries, if we are to follow Mede's hypothesis, have passed away, since the Church was delivered into the hands of Antichrist, and yet it is still capable of being questioned, whether Antichrist be come or not;—nay the fact of his having come is still denied by a large majority of those who are supposed to have been so long suffering under his tyranny. Thus then, the unsealing of prophecy,

^y See note D at the end of the volume.

which, according to Mede, denotes an increased light and an enlarged knowledge of its true meaning, has left us, after seven hundred years, in as much doubt and difficulty as ever;—it has introduced into the Christian Church, a source of dissension and a root of bitterness which before had no existence; it has created new controversies, and cast over the prophecies of Scripture a new obscurity.

But the melancholy page in the history of the Church, upon which we have been endeavouring to cast a hasty glance, will sufficiently reveal to you, my brethren, the real cause of these unhappy consequences. The exposition of the prophecies was made a tool of human passions, and desecrated to the unhallowed purposes of controversial warfare; ignorance and fanaticism were driven, in the rage of party spirit, to seek in the prophecies a justification of their own opinions, or a refutation of the system of their opponents.

How different the spirit in which the Christian, who desires to be taught of God, should approach these holy and mysterious revelations of the future! We should read them, not for the purpose of securing or facilitating the victory of our party in theological dispute; not for the purpose of indulging a fanatical curiosity respecting things to come; but for the practical purpose of realizing “the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen;” that, walking more humbly with our God, as they to whom our Lord has made known “the things that must

shortly come to pass," we may live in the faith of that truth which the world cannot receive, that "the day of the Lord so cometh as a thief in the night." "Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and *keep those things that are written therein.*"

In the hope, therefore, of assisting you to realize this blessing, by exciting you to the study of the prophets, and by refuting some of the erroneous principles and prejudices which have disguised from the Church their real testimony, I enter upon the difficult, though I trust not presumptuous, task of expounding the prophecies that relate to Antichrist.

That Antichrist shall come, is a truth that may almost be said to be an article of faith, so universally and unanimously has it been received in all ages by the Christian Church. It is true that when we inquire into the time and manner of his coming, we meet with great and various differences of opinion, but these respect rather the circumstances of the doctrine than the doctrine itself. The belief that there shall come a power implacably hostile to Christ's religion, thirsting for the blood of the saints, and leaving no means untried to subvert the truth, has been held by all Christians, ancient as well as modern. Thus far there has never been any difference of opinion in any period of the Christian Church; but with respect to the nature of that power, its head or leader, its duration, the date of its appearance in the world, and the mode or degree in which it shall seek the subversion of the truth; whether we are to look for an indivi-

dual Antichrist, or a succession of individuals, or a body of men leagued together against religion ; whether we are to expect a power openly and avowedly professing atheism, and blaspheming the very name and semblance of Christianity ; or whether we are to look for this enemy in the garb of a friend, naming indeed the name of Christ, and professing to act in his name and by his authority, but in reality a deadly foe, undermining true religion by insidious fraud, and propagating, under the name of Christian doctrine, the most damnable and fatal errors ;—these are questions upon which there does indeed exist, and upon which there has long existed, much diversity of opinion in the Church ; and these questions it shall be my business to consider in their proper places.

LECTURE II.

“ Εἰ καὶ ἀπείρον τὸ πῖλαγος τῶν προφητῶν, καὶ πολλὰ ἐκεῖ τὰ βᾶθρ, κατατολήσωμεν τῆς θαλλάττης κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν δύναμιν· μᾶλλον δὲ μὴ κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀνωθεν δεδομένην ἡμῖν χάριν, οὐ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν παρρησίαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν ὠφέλειαν κατατολήσωμεν τῆς θαλάττης, ἐάν τούτῳ Παῦλον μιμούμενοι.” S. Joan. Chrysostom. de Prophetiar. obscuritate, l. 2.

LECTURE II.

DAN. vii. 19, 20.

“ Then I would know the truth of the fourth beast, which was diverse from all the others, exceeding dreadful, whose teeth were of iron, and his nails of brass ; which devoured, brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with his feet ; and of the ten horns that were in his head, and of the other which came up, and before whom three fell ; even of that horn that had eyes, and a mouth that spake very great things, whose look was more stout than his fellows.”

I OCCUPIED your time, when I last addressed you, with the consideration of some preliminary objections, of which it was necessary to take some notice before I could enter upon the inquiry that is to form the more immediate subject of these discourses.

On the popular prejudices against the study of unfulfilled prophecy in general, I did not feel it necessary, before an audience such as this, to dwell at any great length. My object, I conceived, was sufficiently attained, when I brought before you some considerations to prove it to be the duty of the Christian Church to study this as well as every other portion of the word of God ; and when I shewed you that Holy Scripture contains no discouragement or

prohibition against the study of prophecy, but the contrary.

There was, however, another preliminary difficulty of a different kind, suggested by a consistent divine of our own communion, a man of consummate learning and of deservedly great reputation, which I felt it right to examine more in detail ; not only because it may perhaps be considered as tending in some degree to countenance the erroneous opinion that the Church can neither understand nor profit by such predictions as are as yet unfulfilled : but also, and chiefly, because it seeks to invest with a sort of prophetic character, an application of the prophecies about Antichrist, and the latter times, which I hope to convince you has no foundation in the Scriptures, and which has been the cause of much disunion and unprofitable controversy in the Christian Church.

In fact, it does not appear that the first authors of this opinion so much as professed to have derived it directly from the Scriptures by any attempt at a comparison of the prophecies with each other. The truth is, that in all ages of the Church an impression may be found to have prevailed more or less, that the end of the world, and therefore, the revelation of Antichrist, was at hand. This opinion, in some cases at least, as it was maintained by particular individuals, was based upon erroneous interpretations of the Apocalypse, which time has since refuted ; but the coming of Antichrist as the head and leader of a formidable persecution of the Christian Church was at all times known to have been foretold, and popularly

looked for; it was not however until the twelfth and following centuries, that it became a common artifice of controversy, for contending parties in religion or politics to brand each other with the odious name of Antichrist; the practice was adopted by those who never meant to censure the corruptions, or to oppose the usurpations of the Roman See; contending popes, or at least their advocates, applied these prophecies to each other^a; and

^a Thus, in 1130, Peter Leo, who was elected by one party of the cardinals, and assumed the title of Anacletus II. seized upon the Vatican, and compelled his opponent Gregory, Cardinal Deacon of St. Angelo, to retire to France, although he had been chosen by the majority of the conclave, "eligentium et numero vincens et merito," if we are to credit St. Bernard. Gregory took the style of Innocent II., and was acknowledged by the Gallican and Anglican Churches, by Germany, Spain, and every part of Europe, except Rome itself, and Italy; but his ultimate triumph over the rival Pope is said to have been due very much to the warm advocacy of St. Bernard. There is extant in the works of this father a letter which he addressed to Geoffrey of Loroux, who in 1136 became Archbishop of Bordeaux, (*Gallia Christiana*, Tom. ii. p. 811. et seq.) but as St. Bernard does not give him this title, the letter must have been written before that year.

In this Epistle, the famous Abbot of Clairvaux does not hesitate to call the usurper of St. Peter's chair, "the beast of the Apocalypse, to whom was given a mouth speaking blasphemies, and power to make war upon the saints;" and in allusion to the name of Peter Leo, he adds, "*tanquam leo paratus ad prædam.*" The whole passage is as follows:—"Quid enim? Tu tibi quiescis et mater tua ecclesia graviter conturbatur? Habuit sua tempora quies, et sanctum otium hactenus sua negotia licenter libenterque exercuit. Tempus faciendi nunc quia dissipaverunt legem. [*Psal. cxix. 126.*] Bestia illa de Apocalypsi, cui datum est os loquens blasphemias, et bellum gerere cum sanctis, Petri cathedram occupat, tanquam *leo paratus ad prædam.*" (*Epist. cxxv.*) Will it be believed that Bishop Hurd, (who is followed by Bishop Newton, Mr. Faber, and others of less note,) after quoting this passage, says, that this was "in other words to

it is not therefore wonderful that the same ready weapon of assault should have been laid hold of by the persecuted sects, who considering themselves, as of course they did, to be the only true Church of Christ, were easily led to believe, or at least to argue, that the power by whose authority they were harassed even to death could be no less than the expected Antichrist. But this, in truth, has been an artifice common to all ages, although at the period in question, it became, from various causes peculiarly popular; nor is it easy always to determine whether they who employ it, seriously intend to put forward a formal exposition of the prophecies, or whether they merely use this application of them, as Mede himself^b admits they sometimes did, to give an edge to satire, or poignancy to declamation.

call the Pope Antichrist!"—Surely the very opposite is the truth. It was because St. Bernard did not believe Peter Leo to be Pope, that he called him Antichrist; and if we are to draw any inference from such a piece of declamation, as to his real opinion about the prophecy to which he refers, it must be that he understood by the beast of the Apocalypse, not the Pope, but a pretender to the papal throne, and by "the saints" the true Pope and his followers. In another Epistle he says, "Audet, (quod et flens dico,) inimicus crucis Christi suis sedibus pellere sanctos, qui nolunt bestiam adorare, quæ aperuit os suum

in blasphemias, blasphemare nomen Dei, et tabernaculum ejus." (Epist. cxxvi.) The reader who desires to see this strange misrepresentation of an ancient authority more fully exposed, is referred to Mr. Maitland's "Enquiry into the Grounds on which the prophetic Period of Daniel and St. John has been supposed to consist of 1260 years." Second Edit. p. 55—62, Lond. 1837.

^b "Nam quod unicum hic excipi potest de *Hildebrando* in quem aliquot antè annis hujus nominis jaciebantur contumeliæ, id assertionem meam non labefactat: siquidem in personam illius eæ dirigebantur, et aliam ob causam, idque ab

Be this, however, as it may, the opinion that the twelfth century of the Christian era was indicated in the Book of Daniel, as the period in which the true interpretation of these prophecies was to become known to the Church, is wholly untenable; and if the arguments I adduced have any weight, destitute of all solid foundation in the Scriptures. We have, therefore, no reason to look upon the interpretation which then began, as in itself a fulfilment of prophecy, nor can it claim from us any further authority or respect, than we may feel compelled to yield it, when we have decided the great question upon which we are now to enter, "Is it or is it not reconcileable with the word of God?" On the contrary, we know enough, I think, of the rise and authors of this interpretation, to make us doubly cautious, how we suffer any preconceived prejudices in its favour to carry us away from this, which is after all the real and only test of truth

illis qui Romanæ ecclesiæ cultum et dogmata nondum improbarunt; propterea non alio censu habendæ quam pro parabolice et κατ' αἰχρῆν dictis, declamatorum more." (Revel. Antichristi. Works, p. 722.) Bishop Hurd, after quoting this passage, says, "I admit the truth of the observation;" and then labours to reconcile this admission with his own attempt to exhibit "a catalogue of witnesses" from the sixth century downwards, by whose combined testimony he thinks it is proved "that the general, at least, and confused

idea of some such doctrine" (as the Protestant doctrine of Antichrist) "did, in fact, *subsist* in the ancient Christian Church;" but if it be true that the writers alluded to made their applications of the prophecies, only as "passionate and declamatory exaggerations," is it not extremely unfair to infer from what is acknowledged to be mere declamation, the existence of "a doctrine" subsisting in the Church, and "founded on the prophecies?" Hurd, Introd. Sermon vii. note t.

in such a case—namely conformity with the text of Scripture ; for we have seen, from the history of the doctrine, how closely it was interwoven in its origin with party spirit, and with the blinding rage of angry controversy, or ruthless persecution.

There is in truth, an evident tendency in the great majority of those who have attempted the explanation of these prophecies, to apply them to their own times, or at least to interpret them of events, which by their relation to other events, cotemporary with the expositor, assume from their proximity alone an importance disproportioned to their real influence upon the destinies of man, and to their actual position in the counsels of the Almighty. In our inquiries, therefore, into the true meaning of the prophecies of Scripture, we should ever bear in mind the great danger to which we are insensibly exposed from this infirmity of our nature. We are perhaps, in no case judges of the relative importance even of past events, in the designs of Providence ; nor can we determine how far it is necessary to the ends for which prophecy is given, that any one particular event, be its magnitude or importance ever so well ascertained, should be foretold. We cannot therefore, without great danger of presumption and mistake, reason, as some have done, that given facts of history have been of such wide and extensive influence in the affairs of man, that a place must be found for them in prophecy ; and that therefore a given prediction must be interpreted in such a manner as to square with the event which we have thus beforehand fixed upon as

its accomplishment. We cannot, without similar presumption, take upon us to determine, whether prophecy is to predict the destinies of man in strict chronological order, without gap or omission; or whether it may not rather suit the inscrutable designs of the Most High, to pass over without notice ten or twenty centuries, and to crowd into the events of a few short years, the fulfilment of all that is foretold. To determine questions such as these, is to assume that we have been admitted to the secret counsels of God; that we are acquainted with all the ends He had in view in the revelation of futurity to man; that we can tell from the event itself whether it ought or ought not to have been foretold; that we are able to ascertain the importance of events not merely in their relation to the past, but also in their relation to what is yet to come; not merely in their relation to the political or religious well-being of the human race, but also in their relation to the secret ends and purposes of the Almighty. Need I stop to point out to you the danger, and the presumption of reasoning which is built on such a foundation as this? Need I tell you that the expositors who have suffered themselves to be influenced by such reasoning, have fallen into great mistakes, and have perverted, rather than interpreted, the oracles of God?

We shall meet but too many opportunities of noticing these false principles of interpretation in the course of the inquiry in which I hope to engage you; and it happens that the opinions of commentators on the prophecy which must first occupy our attention

afford a remarkable example of the class of errors to which I have referred.

Nebuchadnezzar's vision of the great image, recorded in the second chapter of the Book of Daniel, was intended, as we learn from the inspired explanation given of it by the prophet, to predict four great kingdoms, the first of which, represented by the head of the image, we are expressly told was Nebuchadnezzar himself;—"Thou art this head of gold." So far therefore, no doubt can be raised as to the real meaning of the prophecy; but we are not given the same distinct information as to the true intent of the remaining portions of the image. The general opinion of commentators seems to be that the Persian monarchy, the conquests of Alexander, and the Roman empire, are symbolized by the three remaining divisions of the image respectively. But the arguments that are employed to support this exposition, although they have received the sanction of high and venerable names, appear to rest on a very weak foundation; and many of them derive their chief force from some of the false principles of interpretation of which I have just spoken.

I allude particularly to the opinion, which it shall be the object of the present discourse to consider, that the fourth kingdom of the prophecy, symbolized by the feet and toes of the image, is identical with the Roman empire.

It is not, however, necessary to my purpose to discuss the discrepancies of those expositors who agree in this general position. Many of the

ancient Christian writers, applied the prophecy to the Roman empire, as it existed in their own times, an interpretation, which was almost always held in connexion with the opinion that the end of the world, and therefore the revelation of Antichrist, were at hand. The greater number of these particular applications of the prophecy are now of course refuted by the event; but commentators still cling to the general principle that the Roman empire is the object of the prediction; though they cannot even yet agree whether the prophecy extends beyond the first advent of the Lord, or whether, with the more ancient expositors, we are to consider it as referring particularly to the Roman empire, in the state in which it is to exist at His second coming; but this latter opinion of course compels its advocates to contend that the Roman empire, notwithstanding its apparent decline and fall, still continues to bear rule in the earth.

It must suffice, however, for the present, to observe, that the ancient commentators who applied this prediction to the Roman empire of their own times, and in connexion with the expectation that the time of the end was at hand, are very unfairly quoted as agreeing with the modern writers who suppose the prophecy to have been fulfilled in the Roman power, either as it existed at our Saviour's incarnation, or as it still exists, in the shadowy, and, to me, I confess, not very intelligible sense, in which they tell us it exists in the present independent monarchies and republics of Europe. The ancient opinion, I conceive, was in strict accordance with the letter of

the prophecy, when it assumed that the fourth kingdom was not to come into the divided state represented by the feet and toes of the image, and by the mixture of iron and clay, until just before the second advent of the Lord; and the error of its advocates consisted chiefly in supposing this to have been fulfilled by the Roman empire, an error which arose from the very natural prejudice of magnifying the events of their own days^d. But the modern opinion assumes that this prophecy has either been long ago

^d St. Irenæus (A. D. 190) speaks of the fourth kingdom as identical with the Roman empire, but its division among ten kings he considered as then future. "Manifestius adhuc etiam de novissimo tempore, et de his qui sunt in eo decem regibus, in quos dividetur quod nunc regnat imperium, significavit Joannes Domini discipulus in Apocalypsi, edisserens quæ fuerint decem cornua, quæ a Daniele visa sunt, dicens sic dictum esse sibi: *Et decem cornua* &c. (Apoc. xvii. 12. seqq.)" He evidently considered the ten kings as individuals, not as dynasties or kingdoms, and believed that they would reign at the end of the fourth kingdom and just before its destruction; "Et diligenter Daniel finem quarti regni digitos ait pedum esse ejus imaginis, quæ a Nabuchodonosor visa est, in quos venit lapis sine manibus præcisus, et quem-admodum ipse ait: *Pedes, pars quidem aliqua ferrea*

&c. (Dan. ii. 33, 34.) Post deinde in exsolutione ait: *Et quoniam vidisti pedes et digitos, &c.* (Ib. 41, 42.) Ergo decem digiti pedum, hi sunt decem reges, in quibus dividetur regnum.....*Et quoniam finis fiet, inquit: Et in diebus regum illorum, &c.* (Ib. 44, 45.)" Irenæi, lib. v. contr. hæc. cap. 26. n. 1. There is therefore an essential difference between this and the modern interpretation, notwithstanding their apparent verbal agreement in making the fourth kingdom the Roman empire. St. Jerome supposed the division of the kingdom to have been begun in his own times, and he appears, from what he says in another place, (Præf. ad lib. xi. in Isaiam) to have been among the first propounders of this opinion; "Regnum autem quartum quod perspicue pertinet ad Romanos, ferrum est quod comminuit et domat omnia. Sed pedes ejus et digiti ex parte ferrei, et ex parte sunt fictiles, quod

fulfilled, or that its fulfilment has been going on for many centuries ; and thus does violence, as I hope to shew you, not merely to the testimony of history, but also to the plain words of Holy Scripture.

For this purpose I shall endeavour in the first place to make a careful analysis of the prophecy itself ; then to consider it in connexion with the parallel prophecy, part of which I have chosen for my text ; and thirdly, when we have established the identity of the events predicted in these remarkable visions, and collected from them, without regard to any system of

hoc tempore manifestissime comprobatur. Sicut enim in principio nihil Romano imperio fortius et durius fuit, ita in fine rerum nihil imbecillius : quando et in bellis civilibus, et adversum diversas nationes, aliarum gentium barbararum indigemus auxilio." (Comm. in Dan. ii. 40.) And Sulpicius Severus, (A.D. 400.) who is also quoted by the advocates of this opinion, considered the predicted division of the empire as fulfilled in the fact which he thus states, "Siquidem jam non ab uno Imperatore, sed etiam a pluribus, semperque inter se armis aut studiis dissentientibus res Romana administratur." He believed that in the events of his own day were fulfilled the characteristics of the last times as laid down by the prophets ; "Siquidem Romanum solum ab exteris gentibus aut rebellibus occupatum, aut dedentibus semper pacis

specie traditum constat : exercitibusque nostris, urbibus atque provinciis permixtas barbaras nationes et præcipue Judæos inter nos degere, nec tamen in mores nostros transire videamus. Atque hæc esse postrema tempora prophetæ annunciant." Sac. hist. lib. ii. p. 67. Ed. Elzevir 1656. See Mr. Maitland's remarks on Bishop Newton's misquotation of this passage. Second Enquiry, p. 137.

Although I think, therefore, that the ancients took the right view of this prophecy in expecting that the fourth kingdom, and its divisions, should appear in the earth immediately before the revelation of Antichrist, yet I conceive that their application of the prophecy to the Roman empire, plausible as it was so long as the Roman empire was in existence, has since been refuted by time.

interpretation, the characteristics which are clearly stated to belong to this fourth kingdom, we shall be better prepared to inquire into the sufficiency of the common exposition.

I. In the first place then let us endeavour to collect from the prophecy itself, the characteristics of the fourth kingdom.

1. It is represented in the vision by the legs of the image which were of iron, and by the feet, which were "part of iron, and part of miry clay;" and in Daniel's interpretation of this we are told that the iron denoted the strength of this fourth kingdom, "forasmuch as iron breaketh in pieces and subdueth all things; and as iron that breaketh all these, it shall break in pieces and bruise^d."

The first characteristic of this kingdom therefore is strength, and the violent exercise of great and irresistible power,—“it shall break in pieces and bruise.”

2. Secondly, we learn also from Daniel's interpretation, that the feet and toes of the image, being composed part of potter's clay and part of iron, indicated that "the kingdom should be divided;" but that there should be in it notwithstanding its divisions, "of the strength of the iron;" in other words, that "the kingdom should be partly strong, and partly broken," even "as the toes of the feet were part of iron and part of clay^e."

3. A third characteristic, which must be looked for

^d Dan. ii. 40.

^e Ver. 41, 42.

in the kingdom that is to fulfil this prophecy, is extremely obscure, and will probably remain so until the event explains it. It was represented by the iron mixed with miry clay, which denoted, we are told, that the divisions of the kingdom, or the kings who are to preside over those divisions, "shall mingle themselves with the seed of men; but shall not cleave one to another, even as iron is not mixed with clay^f."

4. The next characteristic of this kingdom is to be found in the manner of its destruction. A stone "cut out without hands," was seen in the vision "to smite the image upon his feet that were of iron and clay, and to break them in pieces"—and this is explained to signify that in the days of the kings who shall be at the head of its several subdivisions^g, "the God of heaven shall set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed; and the kingdom shall not be left to other people, but it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever^h."

From this last characteristic two important inferences may be drawn; first, that the destruction of the fourth kingdom will be sudden, complete, and probably

^f Ver. 43.

^g So ver. 44 is generally understood, if we adopt the reading of the present Chaldee text. Dr. Gill says,

"*And in the days of these kings, &c.*] Not of the Babylonian, Persian, and Grecian kings, nor indeed of the old

Roman kings or emperors; but in the days of these ten kings or kingdoms, into which the Roman empire is divided, signified by the ten toes of different power and strength."—Gill on the Prophets, vol. ii. p. 273, col. 2. Fol. Lond. 1758.

^h Ver. 34—44.

miraculous ; all this seems implied in the fall of the image, after its feet had received the single stroke of a stone "cut out without hands," or as the original may perhaps signify, of a stone "cut out and thrown without hands ;" for, that a complete destruction shall be the immediate consequence, is expressly asserted in the words that follow, "*then* was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold, broken to pieces together, and became like the chaff of the summer threshing-floors ; and the wind carried them away, that no place was found for them."

A second inference is, that the fourth kingdom shall endure until the second coming of the Lord, the establishment of his kingdom, and the final triumph of his cause on earth ; for this is the event that is to effect the destruction of the fourth kingdom, or, which is immediately to follow its dissolution. "The stone that smote the image," was seen in the vision to become "a mountain that filled the whole earth ;" or in the language of Daniel's interpretation, the God of heaven shall then set up a kingdom "which shall never be destroyed," a kingdom which shall break in pieces and consume all other kingdoms, and shall stand itself for ever¹.

I know that this part of the prophecy is very generally interpreted of the first preaching of Christianity, its great and wonderful progress in the world, and the overthrow of heathenism. The miraculous conception and incarnation of our Lord,

¹ Ver. 35—44.

his humiliation, the meanness of his followers, and the apparent inadequacy of the means adopted by him for the propagation of his religion in the world, are aptly represented, it is said, by "a stone, cut out without hands;" while the great success and ultimate triumph of the Christian faith, are well described by the stone "becoming a mountain, and filling the whole earth."

But there are great inconsistencies in this interpretation, which seem to me to render it quite untenable.

In the first place, a large majority of the expositors who have adopted this or a similar opinion, maintain also that the fourth kingdom is the Roman empire; but if so, in what sense can it be said that the Roman empire owes its fall to Christianity? Yet nothing is more clear than that the fourth kingdom of the prophecy is to fall beneath the stroke of the stone. The interpretations therefore given by these expositors to the two portions of the vision are manifestly inconsistent. If the smiting of the feet of the image, by the stone cut out without hands, denote the overthrow of paganism by the preaching of the cross, then paganism, and not the Roman empire, must be the fourth kingdom represented by the legs and feet of the image; or if the fourth kingdom be the Roman empire, then the stone must denote, not Christianity, but the cause or combination of causes to which the Roman empire owes its destruction.

Nor is the difficulty lessened even though it were possible to prove that the Roman power is not yet

destroyed. For if not, then the stone has not yet begun to swell into a mountain, and consequently the spread of Christianity and the fall of paganism cannot be the fulfilment of the prophecy;—if the legs and feet of the image be still standing, the stone has not yet smitten them, and we are therefore reduced to the necessity of abandoning, either the common interpretation of the stone, or the common interpretation of the fourth kingdom; for nothing can be plainer than that the stone was not seen to become a mountain until after the ruins of the image had been swept away “like the chaff of the summer threshing-floors.”

But secondly, there is a still further inconsistency in this interpretation. The toes of the image, it is said, indicated the ten kingdoms into which, as the great majority of expositors tell us, the Roman empire was divided, and although they are not agreed as to the precise names or boundaries of these kingdoms, yet they are I believe unanimous, that this division of the empire did not take place until after the establishment of Christianity. If, therefore, we are to understand by the stone that smote the feet of the image, the first preaching of the Gospel, and if we are to understand by its smiting the image, the fall of paganism, it is clear that the image had no toes upon its feet until after the stone had fallen upon them, nor until some considerable time after the stone had begun to swell into a mountain.

And thirdly, it should be observed, that none of the interpretations to which I have alluded, is con-

sistent with the *sudden* destruction of the image, or the immediate growth of the stone into a mountain, which are, I conceive, very prominent features in the prophecy. The decline and fall of the Roman empire were slow and gradual. Christianity has been now for eighteen centuries in the world, but its saving light has not yet reached all the dark habitations of the heathen. Its progress hitherto has been accompanied by no sudden or rapid revolution, at all analogous to the fall and dissipation of the image; its extension in the earth has been rather "like leaven, which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal until the whole was leavened ¹."

The most ingenious mode of evading these difficulties is the exposition that has been proposed by the learned Joseph Mede. He supposes that the kingdom of Christ, or the Christian religion, is here described under two different states; the first of which, represented by the stone, began during the existence of the fourth kingdom,—while the image was still upon its feet,—and has continued ever since; the second, represented by the stone after it had grown into a mountain, is the future state of Christianity at the second coming of our Lord. It follows, therefore, as a necessary consequence of this hypothesis, that between the two events, the hewing out of the stone and its striking the feet of the image and becoming a mountain, we must suppose an interval of many centuries. This consequence Mede fully admits, nay it forms a prominent part of his

¹ Luke xiii. 21.

system, for in this interval, between what he calls "the kingdom of the stone," and the "kingdom of the mountain," he places the whole of the events foretold in the Apocalyptic visions^k.

This hypothesis therefore, it must be admitted, is not chargeable with the inconsistencies of which I have just spoken. The stone, according to Mede, is still in the state in which it was at first seen in the vision; it has not yet fallen upon the feet of the image, nor has it yet begun to swell into a mountain. But then this explanation deprives expositors of all the advantages they derived from the gradual growth of the stone, which they had generally taken to represent the progress of Christianity from its first publication until now; it assumes the Roman empire to be still in existence, and it is exposed moreover to peculiar difficulties.

^k "Nebuchadnezzar's image points out *two states* of the kingdom of Christ. The *first* to be while those times of the kingdoms of the Gentiles yet lasted, typified by a *stone hewn out of a Mountain without hands*, the *Monarchical Statue* yet standing upon his feet. The *second* not to be until the utter destruction and dissipation of the *image*, when *the stone*, having smote it upon the feet, should *grow into a great mountain, which should fill the whole earth*. The *first* may be called, for distinction's sake, *Regnum Lapidis*, the *Kingdom of the Stone*; which is the state of

Christ's kingdom which hitherto hath been. The other, *Regnum Montis*, the *Kingdom of the Mountain*, (that is, of the stone grown into a mountain, &c.,) which is the state of His kingdom which hereafter shall be. The *Intervallum* between these two, from the time the *stone* was first hewn out (that is, the kingdom of Christ was first advanced) until the time it becomes a *mountain* (that is, when the *Mystery of God shall be finished*, Rev. x. 7,) is the subject of the *Apocalypitical Visions*." Mede, Works, p. 743.

The progress already made by Christianity is inconsistent with the hypothesis, that it is still in the state in which it was originally seen in the vision, as typified by the stone cut without hands out of the mountain. But waving this difficulty, there is nothing whatsoever in the prophecy to intimate the existence of so long an interval as Mede's theory requires between the first appearance of the stone, and its fall upon the feet of the image. On the contrary, both these events are spoken of as synchronous, "Thou sawest, till that a stone was cut out without hands, which smote the image¹," and again, "forasmuch as thou sawest that the stone was cut out of the mountain without hands, and that it brake in pieces the iron, the brass, the clay, the silver, and the gold^m."

And further, we read, "In the days of these kings, shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom;" that is, as Mede interprets it, "in the days of these kingdoms, not *after them*, but while some of them were yet in beingⁿ." It deserves, however, to be considered, whether the past or present state of Christianity can with any strict propriety of speech be called a *kingdom*. At least, if we are to call it so, the

¹ Ver. 34.

^m Ver. 45.

ⁿ Works, p. 744. It should be observed, that Mede seems to have adopted the reading of the Vulgate, which is also found in some copies of the LXX., "in the days of these

kingdoms" instead of "these kings," (ver. 44,) a reading which manifestly suits better with his hypothesis, unless we take the "kingdoms" to mean the divisions of the fourth monarchy.

word must be employed in a very different sense from that in which we use it when we speak of the kingdom of Nebuchadnezzar, of Cyrus, or of Alexander. Without, however, denying that the word is ever used in this figurative sense, or that it is applicable to the Christian religion, is it fair, we may ask, to consider it as so used here? By what canon of interpretation are we justified in taking the same word in two such different significations almost in the same sentence? Yet is not this what we are compelled to do when we assert that the kingdom set up by the God of heaven is a spiritual, an unseen, a figurative kingdom only, while the kingdoms which it shall destroy are literal and earthly °?

° It is well known that the opinion here alluded to, that the kingdom of our Lord, at his second coming, will be literally established on the earth, was the doctrine of many of the primitive fathers; and until the school of Origen taught the Church how to evade the plain words of Scripture, no other interpretation, I believe, was thought of by any of those who received the prophecies as the word of God. The prayer our Lord himself has taught us, and its universal use in the liturgies of the Church, is a testimony to the ancient faith of Christians that His kingdom is not yet come, and that we are still to look for a period when His will shall be done on earth, as it is in heaven. In St. Jerome's time, when the

Church began to be ashamed of this doctrine, it was usual to brand it as a remnant of Judaism, and it was often confounded with the gross and sensual doctrines supposed to be held by the Jews. Yet St. Jerome acknowledged that it was believed by ancient and Catholic Christians; "Post captivitatem autem quæ sub Vespasiano et Tito, et postea accidit sub Hadriano, usque ad consummationem seculi ruinæ Jerusalem permansuræ sunt, quanquam sibi Judæi auream atque gemmatam Jerusalem restituendam putent, rursumque victimas, et sacrificia et conjugia sanctorum, et regnum in terris Domini Salvatoris. Quæ licet non sequamur, tamen damnare non possumus, quia multi Eccle-

I am persuaded therefore by the force of these considerations, that the fourth kingdom of Nebuchad-

siasticorum virorum et Martyres ista dixerunt. Et unusquisque in suo sensu abundet, et Domini cuncta iudicio reserventur." (Comm. in Jerem. cap. xix. 10, 11.) And again, in another place, he speaks as if the opinions which he brands as Judaism were held by the majority of Christians, and that he was likely to incur great censure for espousing the figurative interpretation: "Nec ignoro quanta inter homines sententiarum diversitas sit. Non dico de mysterio Trinitatis, cujus recta confessio est ignoratio scientiæ: sed de aliis ecclesiasticis dogmatibus, de resurrectione scilicet, et de animarum et humanæ carnis statu, de repromissionibus futurorum, quomodo debeant accipi, et qua ratione intelligenda sit Apocalypsis Joannis, quam si juxta literam accipimus, judaizandum est, si spiritualiter, ut scripta est, disserimus, multorum veterum videbimur opinionibus contraire: Latino- rum, Tertulliani, Victorini, Lactantii: Græcorum, ut cæteros prætermittam, Irenæi tantum Lugdunensis Episcopi faciam mentionem, adversum quem vir eloquentissimus Dionysius Alexandrinæ Ecclesiæ Pontifex elegantem scribit librum, irridens mille annorum fabulam, et auream atque gemmatam in terris Jerusalem, instauracionem templi, hostiarum sanguinem, otium sab-

bathi, circumcisionis injuriam, nuptias, partus, liberorum educationem, epularum delicias, et cunctarum gentium servitutem: rursusque bella, exercitus, ac triumphos et superatorum neces, mortemque centenarii peccatoris. Cui dubius voluminibus respondit Apollinarius, quem non solum suæ sectæ homines, sed et nostrorum in hac parte dumtaxat plurima sequitur multitudo, ut præsaga mente jam cernam quantum in me rabies concitanda sit." (Præf. in Lib. xviii. Comm. in Isaiam.)—From this way of speaking it is manifest that the doctrine was not, even in Jerome's time, quite exploded in the Church; (see also Aug. de Civit. Dei lib. xx. c. 7.) and the extant writings of St. Justin Martyr, St. Irenæus, Tertullian, and Lactantius, to which he alludes, not only furnish us with evidence of the sentiments of the Church in the age immediately following that of the apostles, but also enable us to correct the statement of Jerome, which confounds the Catholic doctrine of the kingdom of Christ, with the gross opinion which he attributes to the Jews, and which could hardly be held by any Catholic, as it is directly opposed to our Lord's assertion that "they who shall be counted worthy to obtain that world and the resurrection of the

nezzar's vision is even yet to come ; that it shall be characterized by great strength, and by the violent and despotic exercise of its power ; cruel and irresistible in conquest, breaking in pieces, bruising, and exterminating its foes ; but torn by internal dissensions, which nevertheless shall not greatly impair the strength of the whole, and that this mighty empire shall at length be overthrown, not by any human power, but by the coming of Christ to judgment, and the establishment of His kingdom which shall stand for ever ^p.

dead shall neither marry nor be given in marriage," (Luke xx. 34, 35.) See the Essay on the Millennium, Eruvin, p. 158, and Lacunza, "*La Venida del Messias en Gloria y Magestad*," (Translated into English, with a preliminary discourse by the Rev. Edward Irving. 2 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1827.) Part I. chap. v. Also, Chillingworth's Argument, drawn from the doctrine of the Millenaries, against infallibility. Works. Fol. Lond. 1742, p. 172 ; Mede's Works, p. 533, 602, 836, 897, and Tillemont, *Memoires pour servir a l'hist. Eccles. tome ii.* p. 300.

^p One difficulty must be briefly noticed here, "the kingdom of the God of heaven," it is said, "shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms," and the stone is represented as destroying not merely the iron and clay, but also the brass, the silver, and the gold. Are we therefore to

infer that the four kingdoms are to be in existence at the time when the stone falls upon the feet of the image, that all may perish together? If so then, since we are sure that one at least of those kingdoms has become extinct, it must follow that the whole vision is long ago fulfilled.

This difficulty, it must be observed, affects equally every interpretation of the prophecy which has now any followers. I am not therefore concerned with it as an objection to the particular views I am advocating. Yet it cannot be passed over without some reply. I would say then, that the simultaneous destruction of the iron, the brass, the silver, and the gold, was in a measure the necessary consequence of the symbols that were employed, and is not to be taken as indicating the co-existence of the four kingdoms, whose successive existence was denoted by the rela-

II. We may now proceed to the consideration of the next vision of four great beasts rising up out of the sea, which was vouchsafed to Daniel himself, and which is recorded in the chapter from which our text is taken. By a comparison of it with the conclusions at which we have already arrived, we shall perhaps be able to learn some further particulars concerning the

tive position of the metals in the body of the image. All that we are entitled to infer from the emblem is, that after the stone shall have smitten the image, no room shall remain for any other earthly kingdom, except that which shall be set up by the God of heaven, and which shall never be destroyed.

And when it is said that the kingdom of God shall destroy "all *these* kingdoms," although, according to every interpretation of the prophecy, the last alone is then to be in existence; the words may perhaps refer only to the kingdoms into which the fourth is to be divided; or else we may adopt the reading of some ancient versions, where the passage is given thus, "it shall break in pieces and consume all kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever." Dr. Gill speaks as if he thought that some remainder of all the four monarchies would be found in the earth at the second coming of Christ:—

"This" (ver. 34, 35) "seems to represent this image as in a plain, when from a mountain

hanging over it a stone is taken by an invisible hand and rolled upon it; which falling on its feet, breaks them to pieces, and in course the whole statue falls, and is broken to shivers; this respects what is yet to be done in the latter day, when Christ will take to himself his great power, and reign, and subdue and destroy the ten kings or kingdoms that are given to antichrist, and him himself, and the remainder of the several monarchies, and in which they will all end."—Gill on the Prophets, vol. ii. p. 271, col. 2, Fol. Lond. 1758. The same mode of meeting the difficulty is adopted by Lowth, (on Dan. ii. 34.) "In like manner the kingdom of Christ, a kingdom of God's own erecting, (see ver. 45,) shall break to pieces the fourth and last monarchy, in which the remainders of the other three were comprehended; and shall at length put an end to all earthly rule, authority, and power, 1 Cor. xv. 24."—Mede's hypothesis is peculiar, and hardly seems to require confutation, Works, p. 779, sq.

fourth kingdom of Nebuchadnezzar's vision, which is identical with the last of the four beasts in the prophecy we are now to consider.

Of the true interpretation of the three other beasts, whether they are to be considered as identical with the golden, the silver, and the brazen parts of the image, or whether they are intended to represent three kingdoms still future, which are to arise with, or exist coterminously with the fourth, I shall have another opportunity of inquiring. It must suffice for the present to observe, that there can be no question of the identity of the fourth beast with the iron legs and feet of the image, because it is expressly said, in obvious allusion to the preceding prophecy, "The fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon earth^a." And accordingly we shall find here all the characteristics of the fourth kingdom, which we have already deduced from the former prophecy, together with several additional particulars of great interest and importance.

1. The first three beasts are described as resembling well known animals; the first was like a lion, the second was like a bear, and the third had the appearance of a leopard, but the prophet was unable to assimilate the fourth beast to any animal with which he was previously acquainted, and he therefore describes it, in general terms, as a beast "diverse from all the beasts that went before it;" we learn therefore from this description of the emblem, what is

^a Dan. vii. 23.

indeed afterwards distinctly told us in the inspired interpretation of it, that the future kingdom thus foretold, will be in some essential respects “diverse from all kingdoms;” and perhaps we may go so far as to say that this diversity will partly consist in a violent and tyrannical exercise of despotic power, exceeding, both in extent and cruelty, all that has ever yet been experienced in the world; for it is immediately added in the prophecy, that the fourth kingdom “shall devour the whole earth and shall tread it down, and break it in pieces.”

2. The same characteristic of strength, which was attributed to the fourth kingdom in the vision of the image, is also put forward very prominently here. The fourth beast is described as “dreadful, and terrible, and strong exceedingly^r,” “exceeding dreadful, whose teeth were of iron, and his nails of brass^s.”

3. In the former prophecy we read that the fourth kingdom shall be divided; and we are here more expressly told that it shall be divided among ten kings, who in the former prophecy were indicated, as is very generally supposed, by the ten toes of the image, and who are here symbolized by the ten horns of the beast. We might have concluded also, from what was said of their not cleaving one to another, and of the kingdom being partly strong and partly broken, that dissension shall prevail among the several subdivisions of the kingdom; and the same inference may also perhaps be drawn from the vision now before us. For we are told, that “another little

^r Ver. 7.^s Ver. 19.

horn" came up among the ten, "before whom there were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots", and this is afterwards explained thus; "the ten horns out of this kingdom are ten kings that shall arise, and another shall rise after them; and he shall be diverse from the first, and he shall subdue three kings". It follows, therefore, that between the eleventh king, and three at least of the original ten kings, war and dissension shall prevail.

4. Lastly, with respect to the duration of this formidable power, we read that the little horn shall prevail, "until the ancient of days shall come, and judgment is given to the saints of the Most High; and until the time come when the saints shall possess the kingdom." And this coincides with the former vision, where the destruction of the image is attributed to the setting up of a kingdom by the God of heaven, "which shall never be destroyed, which shall not be left to other people, but shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and shall stand itself for ever."

The rest of the vision, with the interpretation of it which was given to Daniel, is occupied in describing the character and actions of the eleventh king, who rose up among the ten, and is symbolized by the little horn. But I must defer the consideration of this part of the prophecy to another opportunity; as it relates to events which were not foretold at all in the vision of the image, and which do not therefore fall within the object in which we have been

^t Ver. 8.

^u Ver. 24.

now more immediately engaged, which is to collect from the two prophecies, their principal points of coincidence or agreement.

III. Having done this, and assuming, what is so distinctly asserted, that the fourth beast here, and the feet of the image in Nebuchadnezzar's dream, are representations of the same kingdom, we are prepared to return to a subject upon which I have already touched, and to consider the evidence adduced in favour of the common opinion that this kingdom is no other than the Roman empire.

1. And first, it is much to be desired that some principles had been laid down upon which commentators were agreed to reason in ascertaining the identity of kingdoms, and the fact of their existence or extinction.

The same writers, for example, who tell us that the present independent sovereignties and states of Europe are a continuation of the Roman empire, and that in them the Roman empire, though in a divided state, still exists, contend also that the kingdom of Alexander's successors is a distinct and separate kingdom from that of Alexander himself, foretold in prophecy under distinct emblems, and occupying a separate place in the prophetic visions^v.

^v Thus Grotius who considers the kingdom set up by the God of heaven, which is to endure for ever, as no other than the Roman empire, and who is therefore compelled to hold that the Roman empire still exists, maintains that the

kingdom of Alexander is represented by the brazen portion of the image, and the kingdom of his successors, by the iron and clay. "With equal justice" (says bishop Chandler) "may it be pretended that Nebuchadnezzar, and his succes-

And again, those expositors who deny the character of a distinct empire to the supposed kingdom of Alexander's successors, on the grounds that the dominions of Alexander had merely passed into other hands, and that the kingdom, though divided, was still essentially one and the same, maintain, notwithstanding, that the kingdom of Nebuchadnezzar came to an end when his dominions were transferred to the Medes and Persians, and that by this transfer a new and distinct monarchy arose. While others, who would persuade us that the Babylonian and Medo-Persian monarchies ought not to be distinguished from each other, and who allow that the Roman empire is extinct, tell us nevertheless, that the present sovereignties and states of Europe and Africa and Asia, together constitute a kingdom, in some sense, one and single, which is no other than the fourth kingdom of the prophecy^w.

sors, made different kingdoms, as that the kingdoms of Alexander and his successors were different." Vindication of the Antiquity and Authority of Daniel's Prophecies. 8vo. Lond. 1728, pp. 98, 9.

^wThis is the opinion put forward by Lacunza, (*La Venida del Messias en Gloria y Magestad. Parte II. Fenomeno i.*) I shall quote his words from the English translation, though it is not always very accurate. "In the same manner, it appears evident from Scripture and history, that the kingdom or empire founded by Nebu-

chadnezzar, was not destroyed, changed, or altered in any material point, when Darius the Mede, and Cyrus the Persian, shook off the yoke of Belshazzar, the son or nephew of the same Nebuchadnezzar, and obtained possession of the capital of the empire. The only novelty which then took place, was to change the government of the head or king; Darius the Mede taking the throne, instead of Belshazzar the Chaldean. Thus Daniel, who was an eye-witness, declares expressly at the end of the fifth chapter, *That same night was*

At first sight it would seem no very difficult matter to decide, whether such an empire as that of Rome still exists or not; yet this is a point upon which interpreters of prophecy are far from being agreed. To the reader of history no fact seems better attested or more certain, than that the Roman monarchy is extinct^x; but commentators contend, that although the power and jurisdiction of the Roman

Belshazzar the king of the Chaldeans slain, and Darius the Median took the kingdom." Vol. I. p. 137.

Of the fourth empire he says, "In order to see this fourth and last empire, . . . it is sufficient to open our eyes and look with some reflection upon the present state of that great extent of territories, which the statue shut up within its womb; Portugal, Spain, France, England, Germany, Poland, Hungary, Italy, Greece. In short, almost the whole of Europe, Asia Minor, with all its kingdoms, Syria, Mesopotamia, Palestine, the three Arabias, Chaldea, Persia, Egypt, all the coasts of Africa from Egypt to the Morroccos, &c. All this the Roman empire comprehended But now, and for some centuries, what has all this become? Turn your eyes to the prophecy and study it well, and at once you shall discover the fourth empire of iron with so much clearness and distinctness, that it shall not be possible for you not to recognize it, though you do the utmost violence to your eyes, and to

your reason." Ibid. p. 141.

^x Historians record the extinction of the Roman empire under Augustulus, (called also Romulus and Momyllus,) son of Orestes, in the year 476, or 479. "The son of Orestes," says Gibbon, "a youth recommended only by his beauty, would be the least entitled to the notice of posterity, if his reign, which was marked by the extinction of the Roman empire in the west, did not leave a memorable era in the history of mankind." (*Decline and Fall*. c. xxxvi.) "Il prenoit," says Tillemont, speaking of the same prince, "deux fois le nom d'Auguste; et comme sa qualité et comme son nom propre, auquel il joignoit celui de Romule, afin qu'on remarquât d'autant plus que la Monarchie Romaine commencée par un Auguste, finissoit aussi par un Auguste, et que la ville de Rome fondée par Romulus perdoit sa liberté sous un Romulus, avec le titre de maîtresse du monde, pour être l'esclave des Barbares." *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. vi. p. 433.

empire has been divided among many independent sovereignties, yet the empire itself does still continue ; in other words, they require us to believe that an empire may be said to be still in being, after it has been deprived, not merely of power, jurisdiction, and dominions, but even of a visible head or ruler ; from which it would follow, that no monarchy can be extinct, so long as the countries over which it once bore sway continue to be inhabited, and to be governed by any laws^y. This, however, is to adopt a use of words so very far from ordinary apprehension, as to be of itself a sufficient condemnation of any theory that requires it. In such a sense as this, the kingdom of Belshazzar, as well as that of Augustus, may indeed be said to exist to this day, but it is a sense, which in the usual signification of the words, is equivalent to extinction. For surely when we speak of the extinction of a kingdom, we do not mean that the countries over which it ruled are depopulated or without inhabitants ; we mean that the succession of its kings or governors has ceased, that its power and authority are no longer recognized or exerted ; that its name is no longer mentioned among the monarchies of the earth.

2. The supposition that the Roman empire still

^y Thus Sir Isaac Newton, after quoting Dan. vii. 11, 12, says, " And therefore all the four beasts are still alive, though the dominion of the three first be taken away. The nations of *Chaldea* and *Assyria* are still the first beast. Those of *Media* and *Persia* are still the

second beast. Those of *Macedon*, *Greece*, and *Thrace*, *Asia* minor, *Syria* and *Egypt*, are still the third. And those of *Europe* on this side *Greece*, are still the fourth." *Observations on Daniel and St. John.* 8vo. Dublin, 1732, p. 31.

exists, and will continue to the coming of the Lord, is necessary to the common interpretation of the fourth kingdom. And therefore, I think, the fair conclusion is that this interpretation must be false. For commentators have reasoned thus: "It is expressly said in Daniel's interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, that the kingdom of the God of heaven shall be set up during the existence of the fourth monarchy. But this was fulfilled by the incarnation of Christ, and the spread of his religion, while the emperors of Rome were in the zenith of their power; therefore the Roman empire is the fourth monarchy ^z."

This argument, you will perceive, owes its entire force to the assumption, that the first, not the second coming of our Lord is intended, and that the Christian Church is described in the prophecy, as "a kingdom which shall never be destroyed." This assumption we have already seen good grounds for questioning; and in fact, we find that few commentators are willing to assert that the second coming of the Lord may not also be included ^a; but if we take into account the vision of the four beasts, we shall be compelled to admit, that the event there described,

^z This is Mede's first fundamental argument. "Quo rerum potente Christi Regnum jam olim cœptum est, illud est quartum regnum Danielis: At regno Romano rerum potente Christi regnum cœpit: Ergo." (Works, p. 712.)

^a Thus even Grotius, who

supposes "the kingdom which shall never be destroyed" to be the Roman empire, adds, "sensus sublimior, Christum finem impositurum omnibus imperiis terrestribus, 1 Corinthior. xv. 24." Comm. in Dan. ii. 45. (ap. Crit. Sacr.)

which is to terminate the existence of the fourth kingdom, is so manifestly the second advent, that no pretence remains for any other interpretation of the words. "I beheld till the thrones were cast down, and the Ancient of days did sit, whose garment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like the pure wool; his throne was like the fiery flame, and his wheels as burning fire. A fiery stream issued and came forth from before him; thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him; the judgment was set, and the books were opened. I beheld then, because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake: I beheld even till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flame ^b."

^b Dan. vii. 9—11. The reader who is unacquainted with the straits to which the exigencies of a theory have sometimes reduced expositors, will perhaps feel it difficult to believe that the application of these words to the day of judgment has ever been denied. Mr. Faber, however, maintains that this passage is no more than "a strain awfully borrowed from the literal day of judgment;" that its fulfilment has actually commenced, and has been going on ever since the French revolution in the year 1789, and that the coming of the Ancient of days to which the prophecy alludes, and with which its fulfilment will be completed, is a "figurative judicial coming" only. (Sacred

Calendar, vol. ii. p. 107—110.) Lightfoot also asserts that the passage is figurative, and "not to be understood of the last judgment of Christ, but of his judgment in his entrance upon his evangelical government, when he was made, by his Father, chief ruler, king, and judge of all things." So that he conceives this part of the prophecy to have been fulfilled at our Lord's first advent. Hebrew and Talmudical Exercit. upon St. Matth. xix. 28. (Works; by Rev. J. R. Pitman, vol. xi. p. 254, 8vo. Lond. 1825.)

But the true interpretation of the passage is that which must strike every one on its first perusal, and which Mede, with all ancient writers, has

Assuming therefore, the identity of the two prophecies, which is admitted I believe by all commentators, we have here a strong confirmation of the opinion that both refer to the second, rather than to the first advent of our Saviour. And as this must at least be admitted with regard to the vision of the beasts, (unless we take refuge in a purely figurative interpretation,) the true way of reasoning on the admission would seem to be this; "The fourth beast is to be alive at the second coming of the Lord, and is then to be destroyed by his righteous judgment; but the Roman empire has long ago ceased to exist; therefore the Roman empire cannot be the fourth monarchy foretold in the prophecy."

3. Again, the ten horns of the fourth beast have occasioned inextricable difficulties to the commentators who have supposed the Roman empire to be

maintained. "The mother-text of Scripture," (he says,) "whence the Church of the Jews grounded the name and expectation of the Great Day of Judgment, with the circumstances thereto belonging, and whereunto almost all the descriptions and expressions thereof in the New Testament have reference, is that vision in the seventh of Daniel, of a session of judgment, when the fourth beast came to be destroyed." (Epist. xv. Book iv., Works, p. 762.) And in another place he says, "Porro illud lectorem monitum velim: quicquid fere a Judæis sani, quicquid a

Domino in Evangelio, vel uspiam in N. T. ab Apostolis de Die judicii magni proditum est, id ex hac Danielis visione hausum esse: nempe Judicium illud igne peragendum, venturum Christum in nubibus cœli, venturum in gloria Patris cum multitudine Angelorum, Sanctos cum eo mundum judicatos, Antichristum abolendum ἐν τῇ ἐπιφανείᾳ τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ &c. Ut omnino fidei Evangelicæ de glorioso Christi adventu columnam subductum eant qui, vetustâ ecclesiæ traditione neglectâ, Prophetiam istam aliò transferre conantur."—(Works, p. 532.)

intended. For the fourth beast was seen to rise from the sea with ten horns, and therefore, if we are to suppose the horns to denote kingdoms, it would seem to be incumbent on the advocates of this opinion to shew that the Roman empire was divided into ten, from its origin, and during the whole period of its existence, until three of the ten kingdoms were plucked up before the little horn^c.

The only mode of evading this difficulty is to assume that the rise of the beast did not denote the rise of the empire symbolized by the beast, but a certain period in the duration of that empire, at which it shall be divided into ten.

This indeed is an arbitrary assumption made to meet this very difficulty; but it has created new ones. Commentators have wasted their learning and their labour in the fruitless effort to discover in the wide field of modern history, the period supposed to be intended, and the ten kingdoms into which the Ro-

^c Commentators, however, do not seem to feel it necessary to prove the Roman empire to have been always divided, or, even since its divisions began, to have always consisted of ten kingdoms; it is enough, they tell us, if they can shew that it was at any time divided into ten; thus Sir Isaac Newton says, "some of these kingdoms at length fell, and new ones arose; but whatever was their number afterwards, they are still called the *ten kings* from their first number." (Observa-

tions on Daniel and St. John, c. 6, p. 73.) And Bishop Newton, after giving a list of the ten kingdoms "as they stood in the eighth century," adds, "Not that there were constantly *ten* kingdoms; they were sometimes more, and sometimes fewer." (Dissert. xiv.) But this is surely taking a great liberty with the prophecy, which, however convenient it may be for commentators, will hardly seem justifiable to those who look for truth.

man empire is supposed to have been divided. That the attempt to discover these ten kingdoms has utterly failed, will be evident to any one who considers the great diversity in the lists of kingdoms that have been proposed by different writers on the subject; each refuting satisfactorily the theory of his predecessors, and each proposing a new arrangement, which is refuted with equal triumph by those who follow him^d. To pass over, for the present, all other difficulties in this part of the common interpretation, it is impossible, I think, to believe, that if the prophecy had been really fulfilled in the Roman empire, this most remarkable feature of its fulfilment could have remained in such vague uncertainty^e.

4. Another difficulty in the hypothesis we have been considering, will be found in the interpretation given of the first three beasts: "If the fourth beast

^d See, for example, how Mr. Faber deals with the systems of those who preceded him, (*Sacred Calendar*, Book iii. c. 2, vol. ii. p. 64, sq.) and how Mr. Frere disposes of the theory of Mr. Faber. (*Combined View*, p. 172.)

^e There is much force in Mr. Maitland's remark, "Let the reader only look at the various lists which have been made by learned men, and I think he will have no doubt that if the number mentioned by Daniel had been nine or eleven, the right number would have been found among these petty kingdoms, whose unset-

tled state renders it so easy to enumerate them variously."—(*Enquiry*, &c. Second Edition, p. 35.) Mr. Joseph Tyso, in a work recently published, has given a table of twenty-nine different lists that have been proposed by commentators, and he shews, in another table, that amongst them all no less than sixty-five different kingdoms or persons have been suggested. (*Elucidation of the Prophecies*, 8vo. Lond. 1838, p. 100—114.) It would be hard if among so many each commentator could not find ten to suit his peculiar system.

be identical with the fourth kingdom of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, then," say the commentators, "the first, second, and third beasts are identical with the first, second, and third monarchies; and consequently, as the fourth beast is the Roman empire, so the first three beasts are the Babylonian, the Persian, and the Grecian empires respectively."

To this exposition, there are two fatal objections. In the first place, the vision of the four beasts was seen by Daniel in the first year of Belshazzar, the successor of Nebuchadnezzar, and therefore if we suppose the first beast to be identical with the golden head of the image, and to have typified the personal history of Nebuchadnezzar, as well as the kingdom over which he presided, we are under the necessity of supposing that the vision was not, at least in this part of it, prophetic, but was intended to represent to Daniel, under a mystery or symbol, a series of past events, with which he was previously well acquainted, and of which he had been in fact an actual eye witness^f. But this is inconsistent with the angel's explanation of the vision, where the four beasts are all spoken of as denoting events then future;—"These great beasts which are four, are four kings which *shall arise* out of the earth^g." It follows therefore, that the first

^f This remark has been made by Lacunza; *Coming of Messiah*, &c. Eng. Trans. vol. i. p. 157.

^g Dan. vii. 17. The Greek, Latin, and Arabic versions here

read "the four great beasts are four *kingdoms*," which is more in accordance with ver. 23, where it is expressly said that "the fourth beast shall be the fourth *kingdom*."

beast cannot be identical with the golden head of the image.

Secondly, we read that after the fourth beast "was slain, and his body destroyed and given to the burning flame," the other three beasts still continued to exist; for the prophecy adds immediately, "As concerning the rest of the beasts, they had their dominion taken away; yet their lives were prolonged for a season and a time^b." This circumstance has no parallel in the vision of the image, where the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold, are expressly said to be broken to pieces together, and made like the chaff of the summer threshing floor, and the wind carried them all alike away, and no place was found for them^c. But if we are resolved to disregard this difficulty, and to suppose that by the first three beasts are meant the Babylonian, the Persian, and the Grecian empire, it is clearly incumbent upon us to believe that these empires, as well as that of Rome, are still in existence; nay, that they will actually survive the extinction of the Roman kingdoms^d.

For these reasons, therefore, I am disposed to believe, that the first three beasts are not to be considered as identical with the gold, the silver, and the brass of Nebuchadnezzar's image, although the fourth beast is undoubtedly the iron or fourth kingdom.

^b Ver. 12.

^c Dan. ii. 35.

^d In fact this is the alter-

native chosen by Sir Isaac Newton; see the passage already cited, page 70, note ^e.

It seems very plainly asserted in the prophecy that the four kingdoms, symbolized by the four great beasts, are to exist coterminously, and that the first three of them are to survive the fourth; but this phenomenon is not explained, so far as I know, by any of the common interpretations, and is wholly inconsistent with the hypothesis that the fourth beast is the Roman empire^k.

5. But it will be objected, that if the fourth kingdom foretold in these visions be not the empire of Rome, then no place is left in the prophecy for this great power which held for so many ages the first place amongst the kingdoms of the world, and exercised so mighty an influence upon the Jewish and the Christian Churches. To this I reply, that a place may still be left for the Roman empire, in the prophecy of the image, even though we deny its identity with the fourth kingdom. For some have maintained that the Babylonian and Medo-Persian

^k Lacunza, who felt, and has stated, this difficulty, (*Coming of the Messiah*, vol. i. p. 160, sq.) proposes a new interpretation of this vision, in which he considers the four beasts as representing four forms of false religion, viz. 1. Idolatry or Heathenism, 2. Mohammedanism, 3. False Christianity, and 4. Atheism or Anti-Christianity. But this interpretation is even more untenable than the common one; we have already seen that all the four beasts are spoken

of as denoting future events, (*Dan. vii. 17.*) but idolatry was of long standing in the earth in Daniel's time; nor can any of these false religions be properly called kings or kingdoms. And besides this, it is expressly asserted that the fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom, a circumstance that seems to have been overlooked by Lacunza, and is wholly inconsistent with his own interpretation of the legs and feet of the image.

kingdoms ought not to be considered as two¹, inasmuch as the latter differed only from the former in

¹ This opinion has been maintained by Lacunza, and by Mr. Maitland, whose summary of Lacunza's arguments will enable the reader to judge for himself :—

"It is explained, that the king himself was symbolized by the head of gold, and that the other parts of the image prefigured three kingdoms which should arise in succession, after that of which he was the ruler.

"It seems, therefore, to admit of no doubt, that the first of these four empires was the Babylonian; but whether the other three were, as is commonly supposed, the Medo-Persian, the Grecian, and the Roman empires, may be questioned. The arguments of Lacunza, on this point, I know not how to answer. They may, perhaps, be briefly stated thus—

"(1.) The Babylonian empire was not *destroyed* or *essentially altered* when Darius the Mede, and Cyrus the Persian, shook off the yoke of Belshazzar and obtained possession of the capital. Daniel says, (ch. v. 30,) 'In that night was Belshazzar the king of the Chaldeans slain, and Darius the Mede took the kingdom.' Darius taking the kingdom became king of the Chaldeans, as Belshazzar had been; and so Daniel calls him, (ch. ix. 1,) 'Darius the son of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes, which

was made king over the realm of the Chaldeans.'

"Babylon was not destroyed; on the contrary, Darius, Cyrus, and their successors, continued it as the seat of government. In fact, Nehemiah, who was cup-bearer to the successor in this empire a hundred years after the time of Cyrus, calls him simply the 'king of Babylon.' The empire remained, therefore, one and the same; and even the subsequent removal of the seat of government from Babylon to Persia, which had been one of the provinces, did not cause the empire to lose its identity.

"(2.) If we make the second empire that of Persia, beginning with Cyrus, it did not answer the terms of the prediction, which announced, that the second empire should be 'inferior' to the first; for this Persian empire never was less, but equal to, or greater than, the kingdom of the Chaldeans founded by Nebuchadnezzar.

"(3.) If we view these, which have commonly been considered as *two* kingdoms, as forming only *one*, the Grecian empire, founded by Alexander, will come to be the *second*; and not, as hitherto, the *third*; and, in fact, while it answers the characteristic of the *second* already mentioned, (namely, inferiority to the preceding,) it does not answer the characteristic of the *third*, of which, and of

the change that had taken place in the royal family. And therefore, that this kingdom is denoted by the golden head of the image; the kingdom of Alexander and his successors, by the breast and arms of silver; and the Roman empire by the brass.

But even though it were necessary to maintain that the Roman empire has been omitted in the prophecy, high authority might be quoted for the opinion. For there are commentators^m who tell us that the empire of Alexander's successors is to be considered as a distinct kingdom, and that the four kingdoms of

which only, it is declared that it shall 'bear rule over all the earth,' (ch. ii. 29.)

"(4.) The characteristic of *universal sovereignty*, which does *not* apply to the Grecian empire, *does* apply if not exclusively, at least with peculiar propriety, to the Roman empire.

"These arguments of Lacunza, as I have already said, I know not how to answer; but I must add another which is to my own mind more convincing than any of them. It is simply this—it seems to be clearly stated that the fourth empire shall exist until 'the Ancient of days shall come, and judgment shall be given unto the saints of the Most High; and the time shall come that they shall possess the kingdom,' (ch. vii. 22.—see also ver. 26, 27.) That time has not yet arrived, and the Roman empire has long ceased to exist. Those who are hard-

pressed by the exigency of system, may attempt to make a shew of a nominal empire, and, by long habit, the writers and readers of commentaries on the prophecies, have come to give, and receive, very marvellous interpretations, with great gravity; but surely the Roman empire—the empire founded by Romulus, and ruled by Augustus and Constantine, has passed through a regular decline and fall to absolute extinction." Attempt to elucidate the prophecies concerning Antichrist, p. 4, sq.

"This is the opinion of Lightfoot; who says, "In this first of Belshazzar, Daniel seeth the vision of the four kingdoms that troubled the world; but especially the Church, from the first rising of Nebuchadnezzar, till the coming of the everlasting kingdom of Christ in the gospel, viz., Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Grecian, and Syro-

the prophecy are therefore the Babylonian, the Medo-Persian, the Grecian or Macedonian, and the empire of the Seleucidæ and Lagidæ. Others again have maintained, that the first kingdom is the Babylonian; the second, that of the Medes; the third, the Persian; and the fourth, with its ten divisions, the kingdom of Alexander and his successorsⁿ. And these interpreters will tell us that the Roman empire is omitted because the object of the prediction was to describe, not all the monarchies of the world, but those alone which should bear rule in the eastern world, or in those regions once held in subjection by the kings of Babylon.

It is not, however, necessary to maintain any of these interpretations, in order to meet the objection I have alluded to. For that objection is founded upon a sort of reasoning that seems highly improper when applied to inspired writings, and to the dealings of Almighty God with His creatures. It assumes that the great importance of the Roman empire, the mighty sway it exercised on earth, and the influence it exerted over the destinies of the Jewish and Christian servants of God, are considerations which enable

Grecian. All the time of the kingdoms before the Babylonian, is not meddled withal, because handled before along in the Bible; and all the times of the Roman state, after the coming of Christ, are not meddled withal neither, but left to be treated of by a beloved disciple, as these are by a beloved prophet, viz., in the Revela-

tion." *Harmony of the Old Test.* (Works, vol. ii. p. 307, 8vo.)

ⁿ This is the opinion put forward by Venema in his *Dissertationes ad Vaticinia Danielis emblematica*. 4to. Leovard. 1745. See also the Syriac version of Dan. vii. in Walton's *Polyglott*.

us to determine *a priori*, that it could not have been passed over consistently with the ends for which prophecy was given; and moreover, that the vision of the statue exhibited to Nebuchadnezzar, was a particular prophecy of such a nature as to require the Roman empire to be foretold in it.

But are we so fully acquainted with the whole design and end of prophecy, that we can thus presume to settle *a priori* what ought, and what ought not to have been foretold? Are we so certain of the true intent of this particular vision that we can tell beforehand the events to which it must necessarily refer? And if these questions can be answered only in the negative, the objection is evidently improper and groundless. The Roman empire, for aught we know, and for reasons which may or may not be discoverable by us, may have been passed over in the prophecy. The real problem, therefore, is, not to accommodate any part of the vision to a given kingdom, but to consider whether the characteristics of the kingdoms described by the four divisions of the image, can be discerned in any of the kingdoms that have hitherto flourished and been celebrated on earth.

In fine, you will perceive that this objection betrays one of the most influential perhaps of the prejudices, or erroneous principles of interpretation, that have led so many learned men to adopt an explanation of these prophecies irreconcilable with the sacred text. Had not commentators been pre-occupied by this, or some other assumed principle, for which

there is no foundation in the prophecy itself, they must have seen that the characteristics of the fourth monarchy were not to be found in the Roman empire. The Romans were remarkable for moderation, for toleration, and for gentle government of the nations that submitted to their sway. Arts and civilization followed the Roman legions, and the roads, the aqueducts, the baths, the walls they erected, even in the most distant and barbarous provinces of their empire, still remain to testify, what is every where recorded in the page of history, that not the extermination of the conquered, but their civilization, and incorporation into the Roman name, was the ultimate end of Roman government°.

° "The republic," says Gibbon, "gloried in her generous policy, and was frequently rewarded by the merit and services of her adopted sons;" and again, "The same salutary maxims of government, which had secured the peace and obedience of Italy, were extended to the most distant conquests. A nation of Romans was gradually formed in the provinces, by the double expedient of introducing colonies, and of admitting the most faithful and deserving of the provincials to the freedom of Rome." (Decline and Fall, chap. ii. vol. i. pp. 55—57, Lond. 8vo. 1815.) And this character of Roman government, which had reached its highest perfection in the Augustan age, is mentioned by his-

torians as among the most influential of the secondary causes which facilitated the rapid spread of Christianity. The observation is as old as Origen, who uses it to refute an objection of Celsus:

Ὡς γὰρ ὁ ἥλιος, φησὶ, [ὁ Κελσός], πάντα τὰ ἄλλα φωτίζων πρῶτον αὐτὸν δεικνύει· οὕτως ἐχρῆν πεποιθῆναι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ. Εἰποίμεν ἂν οὖν, ὅτι καὶ πιπώηκειν ἐντίτλιε γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτοῦ δικαιοσύνη, καὶ πλῆθος εἰρήνης γέγονεν ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ τῆς γεένσεως αὐτοῦ ἐντρεπίζοντος τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἔθνη, ἵν' ὑπὸ ἑνα γένηται τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεία καὶ μὴ, διὰ τὸ πρῶτα σὺ τῶν πολλῶν βασιλείων ἄμικτον τῶν ἰθιῶν πρὸς ἄλληλα, χαλιπώτεροι γίνηται ταῖς ἀποστόλοις τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τὸ ποιῆσαι ὅπερ προσέταξεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἰπὼν· πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ

But the fourth kingdom, as described in the prophecy, is the reverse of this picture. It shall “devour, break in pieces, and stamp the residue with its feet;” “its teeth shall be of iron, and its nails of brass;” like iron it shall “break in pieces and bruise;” it shall “devour the whole earth, and shall tread it down, and break it in pieces;” extermination shall be the object of its conquests; death and destruction shall be the characteristics of its sway.

We are taught, therefore, by this prophecy, if the view I have taken of it be correct, that a kingdom, answering to this formidable description, will at some future period be established upon the earth. We are yet to see the rise and rapid progress of a mighty empire strong and irresistible, ruthless, bloody, and cruel beyond example in the exercise of its power; a kingdom of which it is said that “it shall be diverse from all former kingdoms,” and whose final overthrow shall be effected by no human arm, but is reserved for the great and terrible day of the Lord, the immediate judgment of our Saviour Himself,

ἐὼς. Καὶ σαφές γέ, ὅτι κατὰ τὴν
 Ἀυγούστου βασιλείαν, ὃ Ἰησοῦς γε-
 γίνηται, τοῦ (ἢ οὕτως ὀνομάσω)
 ὁμαλίσαντος διὰ μᾶς βασιλείας
 τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς. Ἦν δὲ
 ἂν ἐμπόδιον τοῦ νικηθῆναι τὴν Ἰη-
 σοῦ διδασκαλίαν εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν
 οἰκουμένην τὸ, πολλὰς εἶναι βασι-
 λείας· οὐ μόνον δια τὰ προειρημένα,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀναγκάζεσθαι
 στρατεύεσθαι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν πατρι-
 δων πολιεῖν τοὺς πανταρχῶν· ὃ, τι
 ἐμίμνητο πρὸ τῶν Ἀυγούστου χρόνων,

καὶ ἔτι γε ἀντιτίμω· ὅτι γε χρεῖα ἦν,
 ὡς Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων
 εἶναι πόλεμοι, οὕτω καὶ ἑτέρων πρὸς
 ἑτέρους. πῶς οὖν οἶον τι ἦν τὴν ἐρη-
 νικὴν ταύτην διδασκαλίαν, καὶ μηδὲ
 ἐχθροὺς ἐπιτρέπουσαν ἀμύνεσθαι,
 κρατῆσαι· εἰ μὴ τὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης
 τῇ Ἰησοῦ ἐπιδημία, μετιβίβλητο
 πανταρχῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἡμερώτερον; Cont.
 Celsum. lib. ii. 30. (Opp. Ed.
 Benedict. tom. i. p. 412, D.)

^P Comp. Dan. ii. 40; vii.
 7, 23.

when He cometh, as it is written of Him, “in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ ^a.”

The prophecy goes on to notice some additional particulars, in the history and progress of this future kingdom, which were not revealed in the vision of the image, or which were there but obscurely indicated. These particulars, which are of great interest and importance, and are closely connected with the subject of the present discourses, I hope to be able to consider on a future occasion.

^a 2 Thess. i. 8.

LECTURE III.

Ἔρχεται δὲ ὁ προειρημένος Ἀντίχριστος οὗτος, ὅταν πληρωθῶσιν οἱ καιροὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων βασιλείας, καὶ πλησιάζοι λοιπὸν τὰ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου συντελείας. Δέκα μὲν ὁμοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἐγειρονται βασιλεῖς, ἐν διαφόροις μὲν ἴσως τόποις, κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν βασιλεύοντες καιρὸν. Μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἐνδέκατος ὁ Ἀντίχριστος, ἐκ τῆς μαγικῆς κακότηχειας τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἐξουσίαν ἀρπάσας. Τρεῖς μὲν τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλευσάντων ταπεινώσει, τοὺς ἑπτὰ δὲ τοὺς ἐπιλοίπους ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν ἔχων. Τὰ πρῶτα μὲν ἐπιείκειαν, ὡσαύτῃ λογιδς τις καὶ συνετὸς, σωφροσύνην τε καὶ φιланθρωπίαν ὑποκρίνεται· σημείοις τε καὶ τέρασι, τοῖς ἐκ μαγικῆς ἀπάτης ψευδέσιν, Ἰουδαίους, ὡσανεὶ Χριστὸς ὁ προσδοκώμενος, ἀπατήσας· παντοίοις ὕστερον ἀπανθρωπίας καὶ παρανομίας ἐπιγραφῆσεται κακοῖς, ὡς πάντας ὑπερβαλίσθαι τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενομένους ἀδίκους καὶ ἀσεβεῖς· φονικὴν καὶ ἀποτομωτάτην, καὶ ἀνηλεῆ, καὶ ποικίλην, κατὰ πάντων μὲν, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ καθ' ἡμῶν τῶν Χριστιανῶν τὴν διάνοιαν ἔχων. Ἐπὶ τρία δὲ ἔτη μόνα καὶ μῆνας ἕξ τὰ τοιαῦτα τολμήσας, ὑπὸ τῆς δευτέρας ἐξ οὐρανῶν ἐνδόξου παρουσίας τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ Θεοῦ καταργεῖται, τοῦ κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ, Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς· ὃς ἀνελὼν τὸν Ἀντίχριστον τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ, τῷ τῆς γείννης τοῦτον παραδώσει πυρί. S. Cyrill. Hierosol. Catech. xv. 12.

LECTURE III.

DAN. viii. 23.

“ And in the latter time of their kingdom, when the transgressors are come to the full, a king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences, shall stand up.”

IN my last Lecture I endeavoured to state the reasons which induce me to believe that commentators, in their attempts to interpret the two remarkable prophetic visions, recorded in the second and seventh chapters of the Book of Daniel, have erroneously considered as fulfilled, or in course of being fulfilled, a portion of the prophecy whose accomplishment is as yet altogether future.

The chief cause of this mistake, if the arguments I employed are conclusive, was the assumption, common to all the popular systems of interpretation, ancient as well as modern, that the Roman empire is to be identified with the fourth kingdom of the prophecy.

In ancient writers this assumption, as I endeavoured to shew you, involved only the very natural error, that the empire which then existed, and was dominant on the earth, would continue till the second

coming of the Lord, and that in it would be accomplished those particulars of the prophecy that were then manifestly unfulfilled. But in the similar interpretation, as it is now held by modern commentators, much more important errors are involved, arising from the necessity of explaining the unfulfilled portion of the prediction, and of applying it to events long since past. I pointed out to you therefore, at some length, the principal difficulties and inconsistencies with which the modern systems of interpretation are encumbered, in consequence of the adoption of this fundamental error; and I said enough, I hope, to convince you, that the characteristics assigned in the prophecy to the fourth monarchy are not to be found in the Roman empire.

From this, in connexion with the express assertion of the prophecy that the fourth kingdom is to be in existence at the second coming of our Lord, and to be by his immediate power in judgment overturned and destroyed, I drew the inference that its rise and establishment are yet to come. That we are to look forward to a period still future, for the rise, and perhaps the sudden rise and rapid spread of a formidable power, "diverse" from all former monarchies, which shall obtain universal sway in the earth by a strength irresistible, and by the exercise of tyrannical and furious force.

It remains now to consider some particulars in the prophetic history of this future kingdom, to which I have hitherto but briefly alluded.

The facts foretold in the vision of the image are

all, as we saw, repeated in the second vision of the four beasts, with several additional particulars well deserving our attention. For example, that the fourth kingdom shall be divided among ten kings, that an eleventh king shall afterwards arise among them, and that he shall subdue three of the former kings, who shall fall and be rooted up before him *.

We are next to consider, therefore, the particulars revealed in the prophecy respecting the character and actions of this eleventh king, who is commonly supposed, indeed, I believe I may say, unanimously supposed, to be the Antichrist, the Man of sin, the great enemy and persecutor of the Church.

But before I proceed to investigate this part of the prophecy, it will be necessary to make some remarks on the use of the term Antichrist in holy Scripture, and in ecclesiastical writers ancient and modern, in order that we may be cautioned to avoid some errors that have arisen from its ambiguity. In its Scriptural use, as you are doubtless aware, the word is found only in the first and second Epistles of St. John, where it is used to signify, not the power predicted in prophecy, but the heretics of the apostolic age generally, and especially those who denied the proper Deity and incarnation of our Blessed Lord.

The word properly signifies an adversary or enemy of Christ, though from the use of the preposition *ἀντί* in composition with other words, it may perhaps be thought to denote a false Christ, an impostor

* Dan. vii. 8, 24.

who pretended to be Christ, such as our Lord forewarned his disciples should come into the world^b. It would seem, however, from the manner in which the word is employed in the Epistles of St. John, both in the singular and in the plural number, that the former signification, an adversary of Christ, is intended. This will appear from a brief review of the passages in which it occurs, and we shall see at

^b Matt. xxiv. 23, 24. Thus in Homer, ἀντίθεος is frequently used, as equivalent to ἰσθίος. So also in the words ἀντίστοργος, ἀντίδουλος, ἀντίτυπον, ἀντίλυτρον, ἀντίψυχος, the preposition ἀντί has the sense of ἴσος rather than of ἑναντίον. Yet the same words are sometimes used in the other signification; thus ἀντίθεος, in the writings of the Greek fathers, generally signifies a blasphemer, an enemy of God. Suicer (Thesaur. in voce) gives examples.

The word ἀντίχριστος, therefore, may also have the same twofold signification. In the Syriac and the Ethiopic versions it is rendered in the sense of ψευδόχριστος; while the Arabic renders it by *enemy of Christ*. Rosenmüller says, (Schol. in Joan. ii. 18.) “Ὁ ἀντίχριστος *adversarius Christi*. Ἀντί in compositis tam eum indicat qui se parem fert alicui, quam qui alteri repugnat et adversatur. Cf. infra c. ii. 22, et c. iv. 3. Hoc loco intelliguntur falsi doctores, quorum vita et doctrina Christo adversabatur.” See also Grotius in loc.

Mr. Gresswell, in his valuable Exposition of the Parables, (vol. i. p. 372, sq.) gives examples of the use of the Greek preposition ἀντί, from which he draws the following conclusion: “The result of these examples is, to shew that the word Antichrist signifies neither more nor less than *another Christ; a pro-Christ; a vice-Christ; an alter Christus; a pretender to the name of Christ, who in every circumstance or characteristic of personal distinction, that can contribute to determine the individuality of the real Christ, appears to be, and sets himself up, as the counterpart of the true.*” But although this is the strictly etymological meaning of the word, and although it is often so employed, still it was not always rigidly used in this its proper signification. And I think it is plain that St. John did not speak of such as actually set themselves up to be the Christ, but in a looser sense applied the name of Antichrist to the teachers, who by their false doctrine were *enemies, or opposites* of Christ.

the same time that it was applied to designate, not the great enemy of the Church, foretold in prophecy, to whom the name of Antichrist, by the common consent of ecclesiastical writers, has since been exclusively applied, but the false teachers, or heresiarchs, that were then in the world ^c.

In the first passage where the word occurs, the object of the Apostle appears to have been to prove that it was "the last time," a phrase that some have supposed to mean here the period of the destruction of Jerusalem, and of the Jewish polity and worship. But as it is introduced in connexion with an exhortation against love of the world, and immediately after the remark, "for the world passeth away and the lust thereof," it seems more probable that the

^c So Bengel, (Gnomon Novi Test. in 1 Joh. ii. 18.) "Defectionem multorum a veritate Christi Jesu Filii Dei prædixerat Spiritus: sed *antichristi* vocabulum singulari numero Joannes non nisi in Ep. I. cap. ii. 18, 22, iv. 3, Ep. II. 7, ponit; in Epistola tertia, in Evangelio, in Apocalypsi, non ponit: neque alius ullus scriptor N. T. id ponit. Sive id vocabulum phrasis apostolica, sive sermo fidelium introduxit, Johannes errores, qui oriri possent, præcisurus, non modo *antichristum*, sed etiam *antichristos* vult dici; et, ubi *antichristum*, vel *spiritum antichristi*, vel *deceptorem* et *antichristum* dicit, sub singulari numero omnes mendaces et veritatis inimicos innuit.

Audierant fideles *spiritum antichristi* et *ipsum antichristum* venire. Id agnoscit Johannes, et addit, *spiritum antichristi nunc in mundo esse jam, nunc antichristos multos esse factos*. Quemadmodumque *Christus* interdum pro *Christianismo*, sic *antichristus* pro *antichristianismo*, sive doctrina et multitudine hominum Christo contraria dicitur. Unus est adversarius insignis, qui dicitur *Cornu magniloquum*, Dan. vii. 8, 20, *homo peccati*, &c., 2 Thes. ii. 3. seq. *bestia ascendens ex abyssu*, Ap. xi. 7, xvii. 8, sed is quidem ex usu potius ecclesiastico antiquo et novo, quam ex apostolico sensu videtur eodem *antichristi* vocabulo denotari."

phrase has no connexion, properly speaking, with the prophecies which relate to the time of the end.

The command of our Lord, "Be ye therefore ready, for the Son of man cometh at an hour when ye think not ^d," appears to have led in the primitive Church to the opinion, that the end of the world was at hand; and as it is written, that "of that day, and that hour knoweth no man, no not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father ^e," so it would seem that the length of time that was to elapse before the end of the world and the coming of the Lord was concealed necessarily from the Apostles, and other inspired writers of the New Testament. They speak, therefore, of themselves as those "upon whom the ends of the world were come ^f," and of the times in which they lived as "the last days ^g;" and we know that in the Thessalonian Church this opinion gave rise to a fanatical abuse of so serious a nature that the Apostle St. Paul was inspired to address to them his second epistle, for the purpose of reminding them, that there were other prophecies yet to be fulfilled, and that until the complete accomplishment of all that was foretold, "the day of Christ" ought not to be regarded as "at hand," in the sense that they had imagined ^h.

^d Luke xii. 40.

^e Mark xiii. 32.

^f 1 Cor. x. 11.

^g Heb. i. 2. Comp. also 1 Thes. iv. 17.

^h 2 Thes. ii. 2. That the end of the world was at hand

appears to have been the belief of Christians in all ages, not excepting the Apostles themselves; St. James for example, (v. 8,) says, "Be ye also patient; stablish your hearts; for the coming of the Lord

However, in the general sense implied in our Lord's warning, it was clearly the duty of the Christian Church to look for His coming, and therefore to consider themselves as living in "the last time;" and hence, St. John refers to the appearance of Antichrists or false teachers, as a proof that the world was passing away, because it was expressly foretold that false Christs and false prophets should arise, and should deceive many¹; and therefore, the existence of any such in the Church was a proof that the time of the end was approaching, no created intelligence could tell how soon.

As the term Antichrist therefore had not been used in the prophecies of the Old Testament, to designate the "king of fierce countenance," there

draweth nigh." Nor is there now any reason why we should abandon this apostolic doctrine, except the argument of the evil servant in the parable, "our Lord delayeth his coming." "Resipiscite itaque" says St. Cyprian, "dum tempus est, ad veram et eternam salutem; et quia jam mundi finis in proximo est, ad Deum mentes vestras Dei timore convertite." (Lib. ad Demetrianum, p. 194. Ed. Oxon. 1682.) And abundant exhortations of the same kind might be quoted from Christian writers of all ages. Who can tell, therefore, whether in this universal belief of the ancient Church, sanctioned as we see it was by the Apostles themselves, there was the error that the lapse of

eighteen or nineteen centuries now seems to have detected in it? Who can tell how often the intercession of the Church has stayed from age to age the arm that oft perhaps was raised to fell the barren and unfruitful tree? Who can tell how often "for the elect's sake" the "last time" has been prolonged? Such a supposition is at variance I know with human philosophy; but this is no reason why Christians should adopt the reasoning of the scoffers foretold in Scripture, who say, "where is the promise of His coming? For since the fathers fell asleep, all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation." 2 Pet. iii. 4.

¹ Matt. xxiv. 5, 11, 24.

foretold under various symbols, it could not have suggested to the Christians to whom the Apostle wrote, the particular subject of those prophecies; and hence it seems most probable that it was employed by St. John, in the general sense of an enemy, or adversary of Christ, a supposition that we shall find strongly confirmed by examining the passages in which the word occurs.

“Little children,” he says, in the first of these passages, “it is the last time, and as ye have heard that antichrist shall come,” or as the original may perhaps be more closely rendered, “as ye have heard that the adversary of Christ cometh, (ὅτι ὁ ἀντίχριστος ἔρχεται) and now there have been many antichrists, (ἀντίχριστοι πολλοὶ γέγονασιν); whereby we know that it is the last time ¹.”

From the next verse we learn that these “antichrists” were, in fact, apostates from Christianity, who had separated themselves from the Church, and had adopted false or heretical opinions; and the apostle infers, from the character of their doctrines, that they were justly to be termed liars, false prophets, enemies of Christ, or antichrists. “Who is a liar,” he says, or perhaps the words should be rendered, “Who is the liar, (ὁ ψεύστης,) but he that denieth that Jesus is the Christ? He is antichrist (or the enemy of Christ, ὁ ἀντίχριστος) that denieth the Father and the Son ^k.” And again, “hereby know

¹ 1 John, ii. 18.

^k Ver. 22.

ye the Spirit of God; every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ hath come (ἐληλυθότα) in the flesh is of God; and every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ hath come (ἐληλυθότα) in the flesh is not of God; and this is the spirit of the enemy of Christ (τοῦ ἀντίχριστου), whereof ye have heard that it cometh (ἔρχεται), and even now is in the world already¹." And in the second epistle there is a passage exactly parallel, "For many deceivers have entered (εἰσῆλθον) into the world, who confess not that Jesus Christ cometh (ἐρχόμενον) in the flesh. This" (i. e. every such person,) "is the deceiver and the enemy of Christ, (ὁ πλάνος καὶ ὁ ἀντίχριστος^m)."

¹ Ch. iv. 3.

^m 2 John, 7. By comparing the phrase here used Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐρχόμενον ἐν σαρκὶ with what he considers as an equivalent phrase, (ch. iv. 3.), ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα, Mede argues that the true meaning of ch. ii. 18, is, *Antichrist is come*, not *shall come*; (De nomine Antichristi, Works, p. 900). And after collecting the testimonies of the ancients respecting the heresies of the Apostolic age, he concludes, "Sensus igitur loci Joannis Ep. i., c. ii. v. 18, &c., ejusmodi est: De Simone Antichristo, Satanæ primo-genito et omnium hæreticorum et pseudoprophetarum coryphæo, jamdudum audivistis, ut ad seducendum venerit: nunc autem plures antichristos et pseudopphetas, scilicet Menandrum, Saturninum, Ba-

silidem, Carpocratem, et Cerinthum, &c. exortos vidimus: unde jam certo scimus finem gentis nostræ et politiæ Moisaicæ abolitionem instare; cum inter alia signa excidii istius appropinquantis hoc etiam Salvator prædixit, Quod *multi pseudoprophetae exorirentur et seducerent multos*, Matt. xxiv. 11. Aliter, Joannes nomine Antichristi non tam unum aliquem et singularem hominem intelligit, quam factionem hæreticam, seu pseudopphetarum turbam, cujusmodi plures ante Hierosolymorum excidium extituros prædixerat Salvator, Matt. xxiv. 5, 11, unde colligit Joannes finem politiæ Judaicæ jam, tempore quo epistola ista prima scripta sit, instare, ὅτι ἀντίχριστοι πολλοὶ γιγνώσκειν." (Ib. p. 902.)

This, so far as the use of the

In the sense therefore in which the word is used by St. John, all heretics, and especially those who oppose the Catholic doctrine of the Person and Incarnation of our Lord, are Antichrists, deceivers, or false prophets; and hence we find that the term is often employed in invective or controversy, in this its Scriptural and larger signification. But there is also another use of the word, still more general amongst ecclesiastical writers, modern as well as ancient, in which the name of Antichrist is applied to the great enemy of the Church foretold by Daniel, St. Paul, and St. John ^a; whether, with the ancient Church, we are to consider that persecuting power as an individual, or with many modern commentators, as a body or succession of individuals.

It is the more necessary to notice this distinction

term Antichrist is concerned, is evidently the true meaning of the Apostle, and so the most ancient fathers appear to have understood the passage. S. Polycarp, for example, (Epist. ad Philip. c. vii.) quoting I John, iv. 3, says : Πᾶς γὰρ ὃς ἂν μὴ ὁμολογῇ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθῆναι, ἀντίχριστος ἐστὶ· καὶ ὃς ἂν μὴ ὁμολογῇ τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ σταυροῦ, ἐκ τοῦ διαβόλου ἐστὶ· καὶ ὃς ἂν μισθώῃ τὰ λόγια τοῦ Κυρίου πρὸς τὰς ἰδίας ἐπιθυμίας, καὶ λίγη μὴτι ἀνάστασιν μὴτι κρῖσιν εἶναι, οὗτος πρωτόκός ἐστι τοῦ Σατανᾶ. And St. Cyprian, "Item beatus Joannes apostolus nec ipse ullam hæresim aut schisma discrevit, aut aliquos speciatim separet posuit, sed universos qui de ecclesia exissent, quique contra

ecclesiam facerent, antichristos appellavit dicens: *Audistis quia antichristus venit.....* Unde patet adversarios Dei et antichristos omnes esse quos constet a caritate atque ab unitate ecclesiæ catholicæ recessisse." Epist. ad Magnum. (Ep. 76, Éd. Bened. 69, Ed., Oxon.)

^a The writings of the first three or four centuries exhibit abundant evidence that the term Antichrist was as yet but in progress towards acquiring, what I have called its ecclesiastical signification. The passages quoted in the last note are instances of the looser application of the term, in which it denotes any heretic; but when the ancient Christians had occasion to speak of

between the general signification of the term, in which it denotes any heretic, and its particular application to

the enemy foretold in prophecy, they do not always call him Antichrist, but often employ some other term; such as, the deceiver of the world, the enemy of truth, &c. Thus St. Barnabas, or the author of the epistle attributed to him, speaks of Antichrist, as ὁ ἄρχων καιροῦ τῆς ἀνομίας. (c. xviii.) And the epistle of the churches of Vienne and Lyons, preserved by Eusebius, a document, undoubtedly genuine, of the second century, uses the term employed by St. Paul, 2 Thes. ii. 4. Παντὶ γὰρ σέβει ἡσυχῆσιν ὁ ἀντικείμενος, προοιμιαζόμενος ἤδη τὴν ἀδιῶς μέλλουσαν ἵστασθαι παρεσσίαν αὐτοῦ. (Euseb. H. E. lib. v., c. 1.)

St. Justin Martyr, (A. D. 140,) after quoting the promise that God the Father will make the enemies of Christ his footstool, says, Ὅπερ γίνεται ἐξ ὅτου εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναλήφθη μετὰ τὸ ἔκ νεκρῶν ἀναστῆναι, ὁ ἡμέτερος κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, τῶν χρόνων συμπληρουμένων, καὶ τοῦ βλάσφημα καὶ τολμῆς εἰς τὸν ὑψίστον μέλλοντος λαλῶν ἤδη ἐπὶ θύραις ἔντος, καιρὸν καὶ καιροὺς καὶ ἡμῖν καιροῦ διακαθίστειν Δανιὴλ μνήμι. (Dial. cum Tryphone, p. 129, D. Ed. Bened. fol. Par. 1742.)

And again, speaking of the second advent of Christ, Ἡ δὲ δευτέρα [παρουσία,] ἐν ᾗ μετὰ δόξης ἀπὸ τῶν οὐρανῶν παρέσται, ὅταν καὶ ὁ τῆς ἀποστασίας ἄνθρωπος, ὁ καὶ εἰς τὸν ὑψίστον ἐξαλλά λαλῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὄνομα τολμῆς ἡμῶς

τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς, οἵτινες..... ἐπὶ τὸν Θεὸν Ἰακώβ, καὶ τὸν Θεὸν Ἰσραὴλ κατιφύγομεν. (Ibid. p. 203, c.)

It is clear therefore, that the fixed or recognized designation of "Antichrist" had not as yet been sanctioned by universal usage; and hence the ancients seem to have often confounded the man of sin with Satan, although perhaps they called him ὁ διάβολος, and even ὁ Σατανᾶς, without intending to identify him, strictly speaking, with the Devil. Thus, the Apostolical Constitutions, which were compiled, most probably from earlier documents, in the fifth century, speak of Antichrist thus: Ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις πληθυνθήσονται οἱ ψευδοπροφῆται, καὶ οἱ φθορεῖς τοῦ λόγου' καὶ τότε φανήσεται ὁ κοσμοπλάνος, ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐχθρὸς, ὁ τοῦ ψεύδους προστάτης· ὃν ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς ἀνελὶ τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ, ὁ διὰ χυλῶν ἀναιρῶν ἀσεβῆ. And a little after, τότε ἔξει ὁ κύριος, καὶ πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι μετ' αὐτοῦ κατακρίναι τὸν κοσμοπλάνον διάβολον, καὶ ἀποδοῦναι ἐκδότην κατὰ πράξιν αὐτοῦ. (Lib. vii. c. 32.) This mode of speaking seems to have been connected with the opinion that as Christ was God and man, so Antichrist should be an incarnation of Satan; a doctrine held by many of the ancients; see Gresswell on the Parables, vol. i. p. 377, seq.

H 2

a certain predicted enemy of Christ, because it frequently occurs in both senses in ancient writers; and passages of their writings have often been misquoted, or misinterpreted, from overlooking or disregarding this circumstance°. It is to be observed, however, that

° Thus, it is from a few passages such as I have alluded to, that some have absurdly supposed various writers of the middle ages to have actually asserted the Pope or the papacy to be the Antichrist predicted in the Scriptures, while they still continued in the communion of the Romish Church. For example, Bishop Hurd tells us "that a Roman power, commonly called Antichrist, was expected to arise in the latter times by the primitive Christians;" (which in the sense his Lordship wished his readers to understand it, is untrue; for not a Roman power, but a power to follow after the destruction of the Roman empire, was expected by the primitive Christians as the Antichrist;) "and that the Imperial was not deemed to be that power, so long as it subsisted." He adds, "It is further unquestionable that not the emperor," (whose very existence was a proof that the empire was still in being, and therefore that Antichrist could not be revealed,) "but the Bishop or Church of Rome was afterwards thought entitled to the name of Antichrist, by many persons of that communion, for several

successive centuries, previous to the æra of the Reformation." (Intro. Serm. vii.) This statement has been made, over and over again, by various writers: but assuredly controversialists and commentators have talked and declaimed about Antichrist, until they have well nigh forgotten the real meaning of the word; otherwise they could not have failed to have attempted some explanation of so extraordinary a phenomenon, as that men, who, like St. Bernard, were all their lives the most zealous advocates of papal power; or who, like Gerbert, were not only archbishops in the Papal communion, but afterwards accepted the Papal tiara itself; or who, like the abbot Joachim, were patronized during their lifetime by the Roman See, and after their death canonized, or at least in some places permitted to be honored as the saints; that such men should seriously, or in any sense at all to the purpose of those who now quote their words, have asserted or maintained that the Pope is antichrist. The supposed testimony of St. Bernard and of Joachim, is particularly dwelt upon by this class of writers. "St. Bernard him-

the name of Antichrist, in modern controversies and expositions of the Scripture, is almost exclusively employed in what I may perhaps be permitted to call its ecclesiastical, in contradistinction to what I have shewn to be its Scriptural signification. This is perhaps to be regretted, as having given rise to much mistake, both in the interpretation of Scripture, and in the inferences drawn from the assertions of such ancient authors as have been quoted in controversy; but it would be vain now, to resist the established usage of so many centuries, and I shall therefore,

self," (says Bishop Newton,) "devoted as he was, and bigoted to the Church of Rome in other respects, yet inveighed loudly against the corruption of the clergy, and the pride and tyranny of the popes, saying that they were the ministers of Christ, and served Antichrist, that nothing remained but that the man of sin should be revealed, that the beast in the Apocalypse occupied St. Peter's chair, with other expressions to the same effect. While our king Richard I. was at Messina in Sicily, going upon his expedition to the holy land; he sent for the famous abbot Joachim of Calabria, and heard him with much satisfaction explain the Apocalypse, and discourse of Antichrist." (Diss. xxiv.) It never occurred to the Bishop to tell his readers how or in what "respects" a person, so eminent for piety as St. Bernard, could be "devoted" to a system that he believed in his con-

science to be the Antichrist of prophecy; or what it was that gave King Richard such peculiar "satisfaction" at learning that he was about to peril his life and kingdom in the cause of Antichrist, whom he had up to that time mistaken for the vicar of Christ. We have already seen how entirely St. Bernard has been misrepresented in one of the passages alluded to by the Bishop, (see note ^a, p. 43, supra;) for the rest the reader is referred to Mr. Maitland's first Enquiry, p. 50, sq., who has also fully exposed the absurdity of the story of King Richard and the abbot Joachim, in a letter to the Rev. W. Digby, p. 64, et. sq. For the history of Joachim, and the honour paid him as a saint after his death, see Bolland. Acta sanctorum, ad diem 29 Maii. tom. vii. p. 89, sq. Ceillier Hist. des Auteurs eccles. tom. xxiii. p. 338. Wadding, Annal. minor. tom. i. p. 15, Romæ, 1731.

after this explanation, continue to employ the term in its common acceptation, as denoting "the king of fierce countenance," "the man of sin," the enemy and persecutor of the saints.

In considering the things revealed to us in the prophecy respecting the eleventh king, who shall rise up after the ten kings, and subdue three of them, I shall follow the same course that I adopted in examining the former prediction ; that is to say, I shall first consider the characteristics of this eleventh king, as they appear in the prophecy itself ; then I shall compare them with the prophecy of the king of fierce countenance, of which the text is a part ; with a view to establish the identity of the power described in both prophecies, and to deduce from the latter such additional particulars as it may be found to furnish ; and lastly, I shall make some general remarks on the most striking defects and inconsistencies of the common systems of interpretation.

I. First then, it will be necessary to consider carefully the circumstances revealed in the vision of the four beasts, with a view to ascertain the characteristic marks of the power symbolized by the little horn.

1. The fourth beast, when it first appeared, was seen with ten horns ; and as the prophet was considering them with attention, "there came up among them another little horn, before whom there were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots ; and behold, in this horn there were eyes, like the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking great things ^p."

^p Dan. vii. 8.

Such is the description of the prophetic symbol as it appeared in vision to Daniel, and when he inquired its meaning from "one of them that stood by," he was informed that the ten horns were "ten kings that shall arise; and another shall rise after them; and shall be diverse from the first, and he shall subdue three kings⁹."

The first characteristic, therefore, of this eleventh king is, that he shall be in some remarkable way that is not particularly described, "diverse," from the ten kings who preceded him; even as the fourth kingdom was "diverse from all former kingdoms."

Perhaps this diversity may have been symbolized in the vision by the little horn having been seen to have had "eyes like the eyes of a man," but the exact meaning of this part of the symbol is not explained. It is possible that extravagant pretensions to superior wisdom, affectation of universal knowledge, and a tyrannical exercise of despotic power, may be intended¹.

⁹ Ver. 24.

¹ Mr. Faber, who believes the Papacy to be foretold by the little horn, asserts that its diversity from the other horns consists in its having been at first "a *spiritual* sovereignty;" and "even afterward," he says, "when it had acquired a secular principality,it still continued to differ essentially from them" (the temporal horns) "in its political constitution; because, unlike its fellows, it was a

power ecclesiastical and spiritual, as well as civil and temporal." (Sacred Calendar, vol. ii. p. 92.) But it should be considered that so long as the Papal power was "spiritual" merely, though it may have somewhat exceeded in degree, it did not in its nature differ from the power of any other bishop. And after it became "civil and temporal," the fact that ecclesiastical powers were also exercised by the Papal monarch, constituted no

2. Secondly, the little horn was seen, not only to have "eyes like the eyes of a man," but also "a mouth speaking very great things⁸;" and what these great things were we may gather from the angel's interpretation, where we read, "he shall speak great words against the most High⁹." Blasphemous language, therefore, will be another prominent characteristic of the eleventh king.

3. Thirdly, we are told that these great words of blasphemy shall be the cause of his destruction, and of the destruction of the fourth kingdom, over which, as it would seem, he is to preside. For the prophet, after describing the advent of the Ancient of days, and the preparations for judgment, adds, "I beheld then, because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake: I beheld even till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flame¹⁰."

4. Prior, however, to this event, (at least in chronological order, for it is mentioned only in the angel's interpretation of the vision,)—is another characteristic of great importance; "he shall wear out

essential difference between his power and that of other sovereigns; for I believe it is pretty well known that the Roman emperors in pagan times claimed to be supreme in matters of religion as well as in affairs of state, and we of the Church of England at least have always been in the habit of considering an ecclesiastical

supremacy essential to the office of a Christian sovereign. (See the statute 24 H. 8, cap. 12.) It was Papal ambition, in fact, that first suggested the distinction upon which Mr. Faber builds his exposition of this part of the prophecy.

⁸ Ver. 8, 20.

⁹ Ver. 25.

¹⁰ Ver. 11.

the saints of the most High," "and they shall be given into his hand."

5. The duration of this persecution of the saints is also distinctly defined; "they shall be given into his hand until a time, and times, and the dividing of a time^v," or three times, and a half, as the expression is generally interpreted. I shall not now stop, however, to inquire into the exact meaning of the period here called "a time;" it must suffice to observe, that I believe it to mean a year, and that the persecution of the saints, which is here predicted, will therefore continue for three years and a half^w.

6. Again, we read, in connexion with the forego-

^v Ver. 25.

^w St. Jerome's commentary on the passage is as follows:—"Tempus annum significat. Tempora, juxta Hebraici sermonis proprietatem, qui et ipsi dualem numerum habent, *duos annos* præfigurant. Dimidium autem temporis, *sex menses*: quibus sancti potestati Antichristi permittendi sunt, ut condemnentur Judæi, qui non credentes veritati, susceperunt mendacium. De quo tempore et Salvator in Evangelio loquitur, *Nisi abbreviati essent dies illi, nequaquam salva esset omnis caro.*" And the same interpretation is followed by almost all the ancients.

The original word translated "time" was used before in chap. iv. 13; "seven times (שבעה ערים) passed over him," where the meaning is generally allowed to be years: but

the word is often used indefinitely, both by Daniel and by the Chaldee paraphrast. Theodotion, in the verse we are considering, renders the phrase *ἕως καιρῶν, καὶ καιρῶν, καὶ γὰρ ἡμῶν καιρῶν*; which words we find also Rev. xii. 14, where the period intended seems to synchronize with the 1260 days, (ver. 6,) and the forty and two months, (xiii. 5, and xi. 2.) In Dan. xii. 7, the Hebrew word *מָדָת* is substituted for the Chaldee *קַרְיָא*, and is translated in the same way by the Versions. From these premises therefore it has been inferred that the words *קַרְיָא* and *מָדָת* in the passages under consideration, are synonymous with each other, and with *καιρός* in the Apocalypse, and that a year of 360 days is the period intended.

ing characteristic, that "he shall think to change times and laws" (לְהַשְׁנִיחַ וּלְהַשְׁמִיט), where the word rendered *times*, is a different word from that used before in describing the duration of the persecution; and the meaning may perhaps be, that he will seek to effect some great revolution in the religion, customs, and laws of his kingdom, or of those who are to be "given into his hand." Or else, possibly, the phrase may signify a blasphemous assumption of Divine attributes; for in another place, Daniel uses almost the same words in describing the attributes of the Deity. "Blessed be the name of God for ever and ever: for wisdom and might are his: and he changeth the times and the seasons (וְהוּא מְחַשְׁבֵּן עֲדָנִים וְזִמְנִים); he removeth kings and setteth up kings; he giveth wisdom unto the wise, and knowledge to them that know understanding^x."

7. And lastly, the power of the eleventh king, we are expressly told, shall be destroyed by the Ancient

^x Dan. ii. 21. "The changing of times and laws," says Mede, "whereby the power of this horn is described, is an oriental phrase to express *potestatem*, αὐτοκρατορίαν. Nor are *times* here to be taken in so abstract a notion, but concretely for *status rerum tempora variantium*, or *res quibus variatur status temporum*, as are *mutationes rerum pub. et regiminis rerum*; *times*, for things done in time, whereby the times are altered: such as are the alterations of states and

governments; according to which notion, Dan. ii. 21, it is said of God, *that he changeth times and seasons, he removeth kings, and setteth up kings*; and 1 Chr. xxix. 30, that the acts of David were written in the books of Samuel, Nathan, and Gad, the seers, *with all his reign and his might, and the times that went over him, and over Israel, and over all the kingdoms of the countries.*"—Works, p. 737.

of days coming to sit in judgment, and to transfer the kingdom to "the people of the saints of the Most High¹;" and it is expressly said that the head of this new kingdom, "set up," as a former prophecy described it, "by the God of Heaven," shall be "One like the Son of man," who was seen in the vision, to come "with the clouds of heaven, and He came to the Ancient of days and they brought Him near before Him. And there was given Him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages should serve Him; and His dominion," unlike that of all preceding monarchs, shall be "an everlasting dominion, and His kingdom that which shall not be destroyed²."

From this, I think the inference is plain, that the eleventh king is to be in existence at the second advent of the Lord, an event which is described in the New Testament in language remarkably corresponding with the prophecy before us. "Behold He cometh with clouds; and every eye shall see Him, and they also that pierced Him; and all kindreds of the earth shall wail because of Him. Even so, Amen³."

II. These then are the particulars which the prophecy makes known to us respecting the power foretold under the symbol of the eleventh horn. Let us now turn to another vision, in which, if I mistake not, we shall find the same power described under a

¹ Dan. vii. 9, 10, 11, 21, 22,
26, 27.

² Ver. 13, 14.

³ Rev. i. 7.

similar emblem, possessing the same general characteristics, and taking a part in the same events. We shall here discover also several additional particulars, which will be found to throw great light on the prophecies we have already examined.

In this second vision, which appeared to Daniel two years after the last, two beasts only were seen. First a ram, which the prophet observed standing by the river of Ulai^b, having two horns, one of them higher than the other, and it is particularly noted that "the higher came up last."

The second, a he goat, which had at first, "a notable horn between his eyes." The goat was seen to come "from the west on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground;" he attacked the ram, and "brake his two horns, and there was no power in the ram, to stand before him^c."

As in the former vision, so in this, the prophet asked for and received an explanation of these symbols; from which we learn, that the ram with two horns symbolized "the kings of Media and Persia," and that the rough goat was "the king of Grecia,"

^b The river Ulai 𐤈𐤍, Eulæus, was a stream of no great magnitude, on which Susa stood, and which was held in a sort of religious veneration. Pliny tells us that the kings of Persia drank of no other water. "Susianen ab Elymaide disternat amnis Eulæus, ortus in Medis, modicoque spatio cuniculo conditus, hac rursus exortus,

et per Mesabetenen lapsus, circum arcem Susorum, ac Dianæ templum augustissimum illis gentibus, et ipse in magna cærimoniam. Siquidem reges non ex alio bibunt, et ob id in longinqua portant." Hist. Nat. lib. vi. c. 31. See also lib. xxxi. c. 21.

^c Dan. viii. 1—7.

and the great horn that was between his eyes, "the first king^d."

But the prophecy goes on to tell us, that after the overthrow of the ram, the he-goat was seen in the vision "to wax very great;" and that "when he was strong the great horn was broken, and for it came up four notable ones, towards the four winds of heaven^e."

I shall, perhaps, have another opportunity of considering the interpretations that are commonly given of this part of the prophecy : but our present business is with the next portion of the vision, which, if I view it rightly, is parallel to the prophecy of the eleventh king in the vision of the four beasts, and is intended to predict the same events. In each prophecy at least a power is described, under the same emblem of a little horn, agreeing in the same general character, and performing, as it would seem, the same actions.

Let us first collect together the most remarkable of these points of coincidence.

1. After the rise of the four horns, the prophet perceived that "out of one of them there came forth a little horn, which waxed exceeding great, toward the south, and toward the east, and toward the pleasant land^f."

The power thus symbolized, therefore, at first small, is to become exceeding great, in three geographical directions; the last of which is generally

^d Ver. 21.

^e Ver. 8.

^f Ver. 9.

understood to signify the land of Israel⁸; but it is uncertain whether by the south and east, we are to understand south and east of Judæa, or south and east of the original position of the little horn. It is scarcely possible, however, to avoid the remark, that as the little horn of the fourth beast in the former vision shall subdue *three* kings, so this little horn shall "wax exceeding great," in *three* directions, "towards the south, and towards the east, and towards the pleasant land." I shall not presume to say whe-

⁸ The word "land" is supplied by our translators, in conformity with the opinions of the Jewish commentators; for *צבי*, which has been rendered "pleasant," is in strict propriety, a substantive. Aben Ezra says (Comm. in loc.)

ואל הצבי כל ארץ ישראל צבי היה לכל הארצות :

"And to the pleasant land.] The whole land of Israel was *צבי* beauty (or glory) unto all the lands." And R. Solomon, commonly called Raschi,

ואל הצבי ארץ ישראל שנקראת ארץ צבי כענין של נחלת צבי זכאות גוים :

"And to the pleasant land.] The land of Israel; which is called the pleasant land, because of that which is said (Jer. iii. 19.) a goodly heritage of the hosts of nations." Comm. in loc.

The same phrase is applied to Judæa by the prophet Ezekiel

צבי היא לכל הארצות

"which is the glory of all lands," ch. xx. 6, 15.

The phrase *ארץ הצבי* is used by Daniel himself, ch. xi. 16, 41, and is rendered literally in the margin of our Bibles "The land of delight, or ornament;" we meet also with the phrase *הר צבי-קדש* "the mountain of delight of holiness." Dan. xi. 45.

The Latin Vulgate renders the passage "contra meridiem, et contra orientem, et contra fortitudinem," and the version of Theodotion, *πρὸς τὸν νότον* [καὶ *πρὸς ἀνατολήν*] καὶ *πρὸς τὴν δύναμιν*, reading probably *π* for *α* and *צבא* for *צבי*. Some MSS. however, with Chrysostom, (Interpr. in Dan. tom. vi. 243, A. Ed. Bened.) read *δύον* for *δύναμις*, which rendering is followed by the Arabic, Slavonic, and Ostrogothic versions (Vid. Holmes.) The LXX. read *ἐπὶ μεσημβρίαν, ἐπὶ νότον, καὶ ἐπ' ἀνατολὰς, καὶ ἐπὶ βορρᾶν*. Our Hebrew copies exhibit no varieties of reading in the word *צבי*.

ther this coincidence should be regarded as sufficient to mark the identity of the events foretold in the two prophecies, or to indicate the relative position of the three kings who are to fall before the little horn.

2. One of the most remarkable characteristics of the little horn of the fourth beast was blasphemy; "he shall speak great words against the most High ^b." And the same thing, we find, is predicted of the little horn of the he-goat; "he magnified himself even to," or, (as the margin of our Bibles has it) "against, the Prince of the host ⁱ;" and "he shall also stand up against the Prince of princes ^j."

3. In the former vision we saw that the blasphemy of the horn was punished with utter destruction, by the immediate interposition of the Ancient of days at His coming to judgment; and in the prophecy we are now considering, "the last end of the indignation" is spoken of as the period when the kingdom of the little horn shall come to an end. His destruction also is plainly ascribed to his blasphemous attempt to rival the Prince of princes; "he shall also stand up against the Prince of princes, but he shall be broken without hand ^k."

^b Dan. vii. 25.

ⁱ Dan. viii. 11. There is much variety in the Greek versions, at this passage. Theodotion reads, *καὶ ἕως οὗ ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος ῥύσεται τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν, καὶ δι' αὐτὸν θυσιάῃ ἱεράρχῃ, καὶ κατανοῶσθαι αὐτῷ.* The LXX. *ἕως ὃ ἀρχιστράτηγος ῥύσεται τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν, καὶ δι' αὐτὸν τὰ ὄρη τὰ*

ἀπ' αἰῶνος ἐρράχθη, καὶ ἐξήρθη ὁ τόπος αὐτῶν, καὶ θυσιάῃ καὶ ἔθηκεν αὐτὴν ἕως χαμαὶ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ εὐωδῶσθαι, καὶ ἐγενήθη. Vid. Holmes. But there seems no reason for questioning the integrity of the present Hebrew text.

^j Ver. 25.

^k Ver. 25.

4. Persecution of the saints is likewise attributed to the little horn in both the prophecies. In the vision of the four beasts, it is foretold, as we have seen, that "he shall wear out the saints of the Most High," and in the prophecy now before us, the same thing is supposed by many commentators to be intended by his "waxing great, even to the host of heaven," and "casting down some of the host and of the stars to the ground, and stamping upon them ¹." But however this be, there can be no question that a persecution of the saints is ascribed to him when it is said, "by him the daily sacrifice was taken away, and the place of his sanctuary was cast down ^m;" and the meaning is made still more unequivocal by the angel's explanation of the prophecy, "he shall prosper and practise, and shall destroy the mighty and the holy people ^a."

From these considerations therefore it would seem, unless some very decisive argument can be adduced for the opposite opinion, that the same persecuting and blaspheming power is intended in the two prophecies; for it is not to be supposed, without good reason, that two powers, so exactly similar, should exist together, perform the same actions, and meet with the same destruction.

Nor is this to impute to Daniel a superfluous repetition.^o For as the fourth beast is admitted to be

¹ Ver. 10.

^m Ver. 11.

^a Ver. 24.

^o "Now this *second* little horn," says Mr. Faber, "certainly cannot be the *same* pow-

a symbol of the same kingdom which was before represented by the legs and feet of the image,—predicting, with many circumstances indicative of identity and agreement, other new and additional particulars,—so the little horn of the goat is a symbol of the same events that were before predicted by the little horn of the fourth beast; but with several additional circumstances, that had not been before made known to us.

Let us therefore now consider these new particulars, none of which we shall find to be in the least inconsistent with the supposition that the prophecies are identical.

1. In the first place we are furnished with some new information, respecting the nature of his power, and his mode of acquiring it; namely, that although “his power shall be mighty,” yet it shall not be “by his own power^p.” This circumstance will again come before us, in the parallel prophecy of the Apocalypse, where it is written of the beast with seven heads and ten horns, that “the dragon gave him his power, and his seat and great authority^q.”

2. We read also, that craft and policy shall be extensively employed by him in the prosecution of

er, as the *first* little horn; notwithstanding they resemble each other in the circumstance of their alike being notoriously antichristian tyrannies. For to suppose their *identity* would not only be to impute to Daniel a superfluous repetition; but what is much worse,

it would be to charge him with a manifest incongruity of description, and with a plain disregard of chronology.” Sacred Calendar, vol. ii. p. 129, 130.

^p Dan. viii. 24.

^q Rev. xiii. 2.

his designs, "through his policy also he shall cause craft to prosper in his hand;" and the same thing is probably implied in the words that immediately follow: "and he shall magnify himself in his heart, and by peace (or prosperity) shall destroy many^r."

3. In the former prophecy we read that his blasphemy shall consist in speaking "great words against the Most High;" but here it would seem that an attempt at something like personal rivalry is foretold; "he magnified himself even to the Prince of the host," and, "he shall also stand up against the Prince of princes^s."

4. In the former prophecy it was stated that "he shall wear out the saints of the Most High^t," but here it is more distinctly said that he shall aim at their entire destruction; "he shall destroy wonderfully, and shall prosper, and practise, and shall destroy the mighty and the holy people^u."

5. Another circumstance connected with his persecution of "the mighty and the holy people" is, that he shall succeed in putting a stop to their daily worship; "by him the daily sacrifice was taken away, and the place of his sanctuary was cast down. And an host was given him against the daily sacrifice by reason of transgression; and it cast down the truth to the ground, and it practised and prospered^v."

The word (צבא) translated "an host," is in some other passages of Scripture rendered "an appointed

^r Dan. viii. 25.

^s Ver. 11, 25.

^t Dan. vii. 25.

^u Dan. viii. 24.

^v Ver. 11, 12.

time," and may therefore, perhaps, have the same signification here. For example, in the book of Job, "Is there not an appointed time (צבא) to man upon earth?" And again, "All the days of my appointed time (צבאי) will I wait, till my change come^w."—The passage before us may therefore be translated, "An appointed time was given to him against the daily sacrifice, by reason of transgression; and he cast the truth down to the ground, and he practised and prospered^x."

6. It is some confirmation of this mode of render-

^w Job. vii. 1, xiv. 14.

^x The Greek versions of this passage, as we have already noticed, have departed widely from the present Hebrew text. The Vulgate Latin reads "Robur autem datum est ei, contra iuge sacrificium." There is another passage in the book of Job, besides those mentioned above, where the word probably occurs in the same sense, although it is rendered by our English translators, "changes and war (צבא) are against me," (Job. x. 7,). And in Is. xl. 2, they have translated the word in the margin, "appointed time," although in the text it is "her warfare is accomplished." In Dan. x. 1, also, צבא גרל is rendered "but the time appointed was long."

There are, therefore, abundant scriptural authorities for translating the word in the same way in the passage before us. R. Solomon (Raschi,) paraphrases the verse thus:

וזמן מועד נתן להיות התמיד מסולק
בשכיל פסע שומם היא על' כדומר
שתהא על' נחנת בירושלים תמורת
התמיד. וכן הוא קרויה בספר הזה
בכמה מקומות שנ' עד מתי החזון התמיד
והפסע שומם. ואומר מעת הוסר התמיד
הלאת שקץ שומם. וצבא. זמן כמו
הלא צבא לאנוש על' ארץ:

"And an appointed time is given for the daily sacrifice to be taken away, because of the transgression of desolation, which is idolatrous worship; as if it were said that idolatrous worship shall be set up in Jerusalem instead of the daily sacrifice: and so it [idolatrous worship] is called in this very book in several places, as it is said [ver. 13.] How long shall be the vision concerning the daily sacrifice, and the transgression of desolation? and it is said [xii. 11.] From the time when the daily sacrifice shall be taken away, and the abomination of desolation set up.

צבא] time; as [in Job. vii. 1.]

ing the passage, that in the words immediately following, the duration of this appointed time appears to be spoken of; "Then I heard," says the prophet, "one saint speaking, and another saint said unto that certain saint which spake: How long shall be the vision concerning the daily sacrifice, and the transgression of desolation, to give both the sanctuary and the host to be trodden under foot? And he said unto me, unto two thousand and three hundred days; then shall the sanctuary be cleansed^y."

From which we learn, that the cessation of the daily sacrifice, and the desolation or pollution of the sanctuary under the tyranny of the little horn, shall continue for 2300 days; although, as we concluded from the former prophecy, the saints shall be delivered into his hands for three years and a half, or 1260 days only.

There are great and serious difficulties, which I confess myself unable to clear up, respecting the relative commencement of these periods, and of the two others of 1290, and 1335 days, mentioned, also in connexion with the taking away of the daily sa-

Is there not an appointed time to man upon earth."

Rosenmüller translates the passage, "*Et exercitus cœli* (vs. 10.) i. e. populus sanctorum (vs. 24,) *tradetur super*, s. *præter jube sacrificium in delictum* s. *impietatem*, i. e. in manum s. potestatem impiorum;" and he remarks, "צבא *exercitus* hic non alius intelligendus quam is qui vs. 10, 11, et 13, ita vocatur, *excr-*

citus cœli i. e. populus sanctorum vs. 24, id vero est populus Judaicus Nomen צבא, alias masculini generis, hic tractatur ut femininum (construitur enim cum verbo feminino (תנתן) ut Jesai. xl. 2, tanquam nomen collectivum vid. Gesenius *Lehrgeb.* p. 717, no. 3. Habet quoque pluralis terminationem femininam צבאות". Schol. in loc.

^y Dan. viii. 13, 14.

crificè, in the last prophecy that was revealed to Daniel ^z.

It is not, however, necessary to our present purpose to enter upon the consideration of this extensive and difficult subject. It must suffice to understand, that when the saints shall be delivered into the hands of the hostile power foretold in this prophecy, their season of trial shall endure for three years and a half only; and that three other periods of 2300 days, 1290 days, and 1335 days respectively,—the first of which is intended most probably to include the others,—shall be connected in some way that the event alone perhaps will reveal, with the taking away of the daily sacrifice, the setting up of the abomination which maketh desolate, and the cleansing of the sanctuary ^a.

^z “And from the time that the daily sacrifice shall be taken away, and the abomination that maketh desolate set up, there shall be a thousand two hundred and ninety days. Blessed is he that waiteth, and cometh to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days.” Dan. xii. 11, 12. Various theories have been proposed by learned men for meeting the difficulties of these prophetic periods; the experiment has even been tried of making the word day signify a year, or a number of years; of these theories, many have been refuted by time, and I need hardly say that all, and especially such as have abandoned the literal meaning of the words, are

more or less arbitrary and unsatisfactory.

^a The period of 1335 days is introduced in the prophecy with a blessing. “Blessed is he that waiteth, and cometh, to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days;” and as a similar blessing is pronounced in the Apocalypse on him “that hath part in the first resurrection,” (Rev. xx. 6,) many ancient commentators have inferred, that this period will be immediately followed by the resurrection of the just, and the millennial reign of Christ. The general opinion of the ancient Church seems to have also been that the 1260 days, or three years and a half, the 1290 days and

7. There are also some other important marks of time given in the prophecy, which deserve attention. The angel Gabriel, who was commissioned to explain the vision to Daniel, is stated to have said to him, "Understand, O son of man, for at the time of the end shall be the vision^b;" and again, "Behold

the 1335 days, will commence together, immediately after the delivery of the saints into the hand of the anti-christian horn; that thirty days after his power to wear them out shall be at an end, that is to say, at the conclusion of the 1290 days, antichrist shall "perish without hand;" and that in forty-five days more, the dead shall be raised with their bodies, and shall "stand in their lot at the end of the days." (Dan. xii. 13.)

But upon the commencement of the period of 2300 days mentioned in the prophecy we are now more immediately considering, there is greater difference of opinion, even amongst ancient writers, who very generally supposed that this part of the prediction was fulfilled by Antiochus Epiphanes, although they held that it would also be accomplished in a manner still more remarkable, under antichrist. Nor were they altogether agreed as to the reading, for in the majority of MSS. of Theodotion's version, the period is 2400 days, and we learn from St. Jerome, that in his time some read 2200, a reading which is now found in the

Slavonic and Ostrogothic versions, "Quidam," (he says,) "pro duobus millibus trecentis, duo millia ducentos legunt; ne sex anni et tres menses superesse videantur. Hunc locum plerique nostrorum ad antichristum referunt, et quod sub Antiocho in typo factum est, sub illo in veritate dicunt esse complendum." Comm. in loc.

The attempts of ancient and modern writers to discover the fulfilment of the 2300 days in the history of Antiochus, are now very generally admitted to have failed. A recent commentator says, after reviewing several of these theories, "Sed quamcunque computandi rationem assumas, illi temporis spatio, quod inter abrogatum per Antiochum sacrum cultum, et restitutum templum intercedit, dies illi 2300 nullo modo accurate respondebunt. Nisi igitur statuamus, poni hic numerum rotundum, sive definitum, tanquam symbolicum, ad designandum illud, quod diximus, temporis spatium, hic locus vix expediri poterit." Rosenmüller Schol. in loc. p. 269, 8vo., Lips. 1832.

^b Dan. viii. 17.

I will make thee know what shall be in the last end of the indignation: for at the time appointed the end shall be," or as these last words may be more literally rendered, "for it is, or it belongs, to the time of the end^c." And again, "And the vision of the evening and the morning which was told, is true; therefore shut thou up the vision, for it shall be for many days^d." It would seem, therefore, that

^c Ver. 19.

^d Ver. 26. The expression "evening and morning," which is the phrase used instead of the ordinary word for day, in describing the period of "2300 days," (see ver. 14, marg.) appears to be employed in allusion to the daily "evening and morning" sacrifice. This was the opinion of Bishop Horsley; "The question is put," (he says,) "how long this profanation, with the concomitant circumstances, is to last. The answer is—Till the stated season of the morning sacrifice, and again of the evening sacrifice, has passed by two thousand and three hundred times. By the use of this expression, in describing the time of the profanation, the image of the profanation itself is pursued That this is the true account of this singular phrase, seems in some measure confirmed by the 26th verse, where the same expression occurs, not as descriptive of time, but of that which marked the time, the double daily offering. 'And the vi-

sion of the evening and the morning, which was told, is true.' The vision of the evening and the morning can be nothing but the vision relating to the evening and the morning sacrifice." Of the Prophetical periods; British Magazine, vol. iv. p. 741.

Some have imagined that the number 2300 denotes, not the number of days, but the number of morning and evening sacrifices, and therefore that it is equivalent to 1150 days. Rosenmüller, (Schol. in loc.) quotes C. B. Bertram. Lucubratt. in utriusque Test. loca difficiliora cap. iv. p. 1136, for this opinion; and something of the same kind appears to have been suggested by S. Ephraem Syrus, in his Syriac Commentary on Daniel; his words, in the Latin translation of the Roman editor, are as follow, "*Ad dies, ait [Angelus] bis mille trecentos, quibus respondent tempora, tempus, et diniduum temporis, superius exposita; sed quia juxta computum lunarem superant dies mille centum quin-*

we cannot look for the fulfilment of this vision, until the period, which is denominated in Scripture, "the time of the end;" and I have already, on a former occasion^c, expressed my opinion that by the phrase "time of the end" the prophets have designated the future period, which is to succeed the restoration of the Jewish people, and to extend to the second coming of the Lord, the resurrection of the dead, and the establishment of His eternal and glorious kingdom^f.

8. We are further told that the anti-christian power symbolized by the little horn, shall not arise until near the end of the former kingdoms represented by the four larger horns; for we read, "and

quaginta, hic noctes diebus adjunxit, duplicavitque numerum dierum, quod in recensione annorum neglectum fuerat." Opp. tom. ii. p. 218. fol. Romæ, 1740. Theodore (Comm. in loc.) has given another meaning to the phrase: 'Εσπίραν δὲ ἐκάλεσε τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν συμφορῶν, πρὶν δὲ, τὸ τέλος τῶν συμφορῶν ἐπυθεῖ νοκτὶ καὶ σκότῳ ἔσται τὰ λυπηρὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν φησί, τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν κακῶν, ἕως τέλους τοσούτου ἐστὶ χρόνος ψαφιδόμεναι δὲ αἱ ἡμέραι αὗται ποιοῦσιν ἕξ ἑτῶν ἄριθμόν, καὶ ἕξ μηνῶν, κατὰ τὴν Ἑβραίων ψῆφον. Opp. tom. ii. p. 645, fol. Par. 1642. By "the computation of the Hebrews" he appears to have meant the year of 354 days composed of twelve months of 29 and 30 days alternately, which gives 2301 days for six years and a half.

^c See Lect. I. p. 24, supra.

^f R. Solomon (Raschi) on ver. 17, says, in allusion probably to ver. 26.

כִּי לַעֲדָתָא דְּיַמִּים רַבִּים יִמִּי הָהָא
 "For in the time of the end.] The days of this vision are many days." And on ver. 19.
 כִּי לְמוֹעֵד קָץ כִּי הָאָה לְזִמְנָא דְּיַמִּים רַבִּים
 "For unto the season of the end.] For it shall be in the season of the end, [after] many days."

"Hebræorum quoque plures," says Rosenmüller "קָץ-קָץ explicant: *post tempus finis* multorum dierum, i. e. *post longum tempus*." Schol. in ver. 17. See also his Schol. on ver. 19, and C. B. Michaelis Ueberior. Adnotatt. in Hagiogr. vol. iii. (annot. in loc.) p. 259, 4to. Halæ. 1720.

in the latter time of their kingdom, when transgressors are come to the full, a king of fierce countenance and understanding dark sentences, shall stand up^g."

From this, therefore, it will follow, that "the latter time of their kingdom" must coincide with "the time of the end" and "the many days," already spoken of, and therefore that the four kingdoms of the prophecy are yet to come. I shall have occasion to remind you of this observation before I conclude.

9. I would infer also, from these words, that the king predicted will be an individual king, and not, as so many modern commentators suppose, a kingdom, or a tyranny. The former prophecy also spoke of the little horn of the fourth beast, in language which ought fairly to be understood as implying personality; but the words just quoted seem incapable of any other interpretation; for they relate to the personal characteristics of this mighty potentate; they describe him as "A king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences^h;" words which can hardly be conceived applicable to a monarchy, especially when we remember that they occur in the explanation of a symbol, and cannot therefore be reasonably supposed to be symbolical themselves.

These then are the additional particulars revealed to us in this prophecy respecting the formidable power of whose coming it has warned us. It is true

^g Ver. 23.

^h The words (עוֹר פָּנִים,) rendered "of fierce countenance," occur Deut. xxviii. 50, "a na-

tion of fierce countenance, which shall not regard the person of the old, nor shew favour to the young."

that many of the circumstances foretold are attended with considerable difficulty, yet enough is intelligible and clear, to convince the unbiassed reader, that the same individual or power is predicted in the two prophecies. And when we consider that the efforts of commentators to discover in past events a fulfilment of these visions, have failed to produce any permanent conviction; and especially when we find in the prophecies themselves distinct intimations that they are not to be accomplished until "the time of the end," and the coming of the Lord to judgment, the conclusion would seem to be inevitable, that they relate to events which are yet to come.

III. We are now prepared to examine the principles upon which the modern popular expositions of these prophecies have been framed, and to point out their unsoundness, as well as the difficulty of reconciling them with the sacred text.

1. In the first place, we may remark, that the great majority of modern commentators agree in asserting the little horn of the goat to be a symbol of a different power from that which was represented by the little horn of the fourth beast; and the cause of this assumption appears to be the very general opinion, which we have already considered and endeavoured to refute, that the fourth kingdom of the image, and therefore also the kingdom represented by the fourth beast, is no other than the empire of Rome. If this be admitted, it must indeed follow that the horn of the goat cannot be the same power that was symbolized before by the horn of

the beast; for the rough goat, we are expressly told, is the king of Grecia; and the little horn springs up out of one of the four horns, which, as we are also expressly told, "are four kingdoms that shall stand up out of the nation¹." It is impossible therefore to maintain, that a power which in one vision is represented as a horn of the Roman empire, can be identical with a power symbolized in another prophecy by a horn springing up out of a Grecian kingdom¹.

But as we have already seen, there exists no reason whatsoever for supposing the fourth beast of the former vision to be the Roman empire; nor have commentators been able to discover in the history of the Roman power, the characteristic marks attributed in the prophecy to the predicted kingdom. The more legitimate process of reasoning, therefore, would seem to be to invert the argument upon which commentators have relied, and to say, that since the identity of the two prophecies appears from a comparison of the prophecies themselves, and since it is expressly declared in one of them, that the kingdom from which the little horn is to spring, is not the Roman empire, therefore the kingdom from which

¹ Dan. viii. 21.

¹ This is Mr. Faber's argument, the whole force of which obviously depends on the assumption that the fourth kingdom is the Roman empire. "The ten-horned wild beast," he says, "from which the *first* little horn springs, is clearly the Roman empire: and the

four-horned he-goat, from one of whose notable horns the *second* little horn springs, is no less clearly the Macedonian or Grecian empire. But it is incongruous to describe the *same* power as the germinating little horn of two *different* beasts or empires, &c." Sacred Calendar, vol. ii. p. 130.

the other little horn is to spring cannot be the Roman empire either.

2. Another leading error in the common principles or canons of interpretation, is the liberty assumed by expositors of taking the word "king," wherever it occurs, as synonymous with "kingdom." This, to say the least, is a liberty that could hardly be ventured upon in the interpretation of any other ancient writing, without good and convincing reasons to justify it. Let it be granted that by "a king," the prophet does sometimes mean a kingdom, will it follow that the rule is general, or that the word may mean either king or kingdom, wherever it occurs, just as commentators please? Thus, for example, where the four beasts are called in one place, "four kings that shall arise," and, in another place, the fourth beast is called "a kingdom^{*}," it may perhaps be true that a king is synonymous with a kingdom, because, admitting the word "king" to be the true reading, a plain reason exists in the prophecy itself, for so interpreting it. But is it fair to make this disputed reading the basis of a general rule? Would it be fair, even though the reading were indisputably genuine, to argue, from a single instance, that in other cases, where no such reason can be given, the same interpretation should be adopted? Is it fair, in particular, to assume this license in a prophecy where the words "king" and "kingdom" are both used in manifest contradistinction to each

^{*} Dan. vii. 17, 23.

other? For example, when it is said, "The fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon earth, . . . and the ten horns out of this kingdom, are ten kings that shall arise, and another shall rise after them, and he shall be diverse from the first, and shall subdue three kings¹;" or, when we read in the explanation, given by the angel, of the vision we have been last considering,—“four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his [the first king's] power, and in the latter time of their kingdom, when the transgressors are come to the full, a king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences, shall stand up^m.” These prophecies speak of kings and kingdoms in the same sentence, and therefore we must naturally suppose, in contradistinction to each other. A king, it is true, implies a kingdom, and a kingdom, though not always in the language of expositors of prophecy, yet usually, implies a king; but it will not therefore follow that in prophecy, any more than in history, king and kingdom are synonymous. For however convenient to commentators the assumption of such a principle may be found, yet that may be true of a king which is not true of his kingdom, and we may be, and I am persuaded we have been, greatly deceived as to the nature and character of the events predicted, when we take upon ourselves to expound of kingdoms, what the prophecy has foretold of kings.

3. The general adoption of this erroneous canon

¹ Dan. vii. 23, 24. ^m Dan. viii. 22, 23. Comp. Rev. xvii. 12.

of interpretation has led to the neglect of a very remarkable feature in the prophecy of the ram and goat, as compared with the vision of the four great beasts. The ten horns of the fourth beast are explained to be "ten kings," but the four horns of the goat, we are told, shall be "four kingdoms." And as the little horn of the goat came forth out of one of the four horns, that is out of one of these four kingdoms, it follows, if we consider the two little horns as identical, that the fourth horn of the goat out of which the little horn came forth, must be identical with the fourth beast; and hence, I am disposed to suggest, (although, on a subject of such extreme difficulty, I would not be understood to do more than suggest,) that the kingdoms represented by the four horns of the goat may perhaps be the same which were exhibited to the prophet in the former vision, under the emblems of four great beasts.

Upon this view of the relation between the two prophecies, therefore, the object of the first vision was to exhibit to Daniel the prophetic history of four cotemporary kingdoms, from one of which there shall arise a formidable potentate, whose character and actions are particularly dwelt upon; while the second vision exhibits the same four kingdoms, as connected in their origin with other pre-existent kingdoms, and describes the same "king of fierce countenance," with several additional particulars and characteristics.

4. And, further, I am disposed to believe, that the interpretation generally given of the second vision,

which supposes it to have been fulfilled in the victories of Alexander in Persia and the east, and in the divisions and contests that ensued amongst his generals and their successors after his death, is unsound and untenable.

For the angel expressly says, that "at the time of the end shall be the vision ⁿ," and I see no reason why this declaration should be restricted to a part of the vision only; if therefore the vision here mean the whole vision, and if it be admitted that "the time of the end" is not yet come, it will follow that the power represented by the ram with two horns, as well as the power represented by the goat, and the four kingdoms which shall stand up out of the nation, are all yet future.

The common interpretation, I may add, appears to fail in explaining the two horns of the ram, one of which was higher than the other, and both of which were broken by the goat. These horns, we are expressly told, are the kings, not the kingdoms, of Media and Persia, and although there are some striking coincidences between the career of Alexander and the prophetic history of the great horn of the goat, yet it must be remembered that Persia had swallowed up Media before either was invaded by Alexander, and that therefore the ram should have had but one horn at the time when he was vanquished by the goat.

Again, it would be easy to show that the division

ⁿ Dan. viii. 17.

of the empire of Alexander into four kingdoms, after his death, notwithstanding the confidence with which it has been asserted by commentators on prophecy, is a fact of which no satisfactory historical evidence has ever been produced. For the truth is, that Alexander's empire was divided into many more than four petty sovereignties, which continued in a state of constant change for several years; and it would have been as easy to have produced twelve or more subdivisions, had so many been required by the prophecy, as four^o.

I am therefore greatly inclined to believe, that the kings of Media and Persia, foretold in this vision, as well as the king of Grecia, who is to vanquish them, are yet to come. That those countries, once

^o And so we find that Vene-
ma, who considers the fourth
kingdom and its ten kings, to
be, not the Roman empire, but
the empire of Alexander and
his successors, has found no
difficulty in proving from his-
tory, that this latter kingdom
was divided into ten; and he
admits, with a candour not
very usual in such cases, but
which his fair and masterly
summary of the history ren-
dered almost inevitable, that
more might have been found
had they been necessary; his
words are:

“Patet itaque, regna, post
Alexandrum orta, ad *denarium*
numerus reduci haud incom-
mode posse: quod nobis suf-
ficit. Etsi enim unum alte-
rumve forte regnum, præter

modo memorata, hic illic fu-
erit: ejus nulla haberi potuit
in hisce visis ratio cum quod
minoris momenti et durationis
fuerit, tum quod harmonia
imaginis, humanam formam
præferentis *denarium* nume-
rum ob *decem* digitos pedum,
requisiverit.” Diss. ad Vatic.
Danielis emblem. p. 362.

The concluding words would
seem to imply, that we are not
to take the number *ten* in its
strictly literal signification;
but the learned writer seems
to have forgotten, that although
the “harmony” of the human
form did certainly require the
image to have had ten toes, yet
the same reason cannot be
given for the fourth beast hav-
ing had ten horns.

the seat of such mighty empires, are destined once more to recover their long lost power, and that in them shall be enacted the last great and fearful struggle between the prince of this world and the armies of the living God.

5. These general remarks apply more or less to all the popular interpretations of these visions, and it will not therefore be necessary to enter into a particular examination of each theory, since it must be manifest, if the principles I have been endeavouring to refute be erroneous, that any exposition which has assumed, as a fundamental hypothesis, one or more of them, has departed from the supreme authority of the letter of Holy Scripture, and is consequently unworthy of our attention.

But there is one opinion, which has been recently made public, proposed by the eminently learned and justly celebrated Bishop Horsley, upon which I must make a few brief remarks.

This great theologian has maintained, that the little horn of the fourth beast is the French democracy, and the little horn of the goat, the Ottoman Porte; that a future coalition between these two powers, will produce a power still more tremendous, and still more hostile to the Christian name, in which will be fulfilled the prophecy we are next to consider, of the king "who shall rule with great dominion, and do according to his will^p," and that in the formidable power, thus hereafter to be revealed, will be

^p Dan. xi. 36.

accomplished all that Holy Scripture has predicted, or the Church received, about the Antichrist of the latter days ^a.

This opinion, widely as it differs from the theories of other modern commentators, is based, nevertheless, on the three erroneous principles against which I have been contending, and which have perplexed, one or more of them, all the modern, and many of the ancient

^a See Bishop Horsley's Letters to the author of "Antichrist in the French Convention," lately published in the British Magazine. In the first of these letters he says: "In the atheistical democracy of France, I agree with you that some of the principal characters of the little horn of Daniel's fourth beast are easily to be found. I think too, that this government answers in many particulars to Daniel's description (chap. xi.) of *the wilful king*. But the little horn which rises out of one of the four horns of the he-goat, (Dan. viii.) I am persuaded is the Ottoman Porte. And from some particulars in the Apocalypse, I have a strong suspicion, that the genuine Antichrist, St. Paul's man of sin, in the utmost height and horror of the character, is to rise out of a strange coalition between the French democracy and the Turk." Brit. Mag. vol. v. p. 134. This letter is dated, April 18th, 1797. In his next letter, dated July 4th, 1797, his Lordship says, "You say, in your favour of April

24th, that you agree with me that the little horn of the goat (Dan. viii.) respects the Mahometan power; but that it appears clearly to you that neither this, nor the wilful king of the eleventh chapter of Daniel, have anything to do with the little horn (chap. vii.), but that they are of a different race. I must have expressed myself inaccurately in my former letter, if I gave you any reason to suppose that I thought them the same. I think, indeed, that the little horn of the goat, and the wilful king, will have something to do with the little horn of chapter vii., as allies and confederates in his impious projects; though the little horn of the goat, and the other little horn, are certainly of a different race The little horn of chapter vii. I take to be the French nation; the little horn of the goat, the Ottoman Porte; the wilful king, the antichristian power in its plenitude and perfection, formed by a strange confederacy, or coalition, between the two little horns." Brit. Mag. vol. v. p. 136.

commentators ; namely, that the Roman empire is the fourth kingdom of the prophecy ; that the little horn of the fourth beast, or the eleventh king of the fourth monarchy, is a different power from the little horn of the goat, or the king of fierce countenance ; and that we are at liberty to consider the *kings* spoken of in the prophecy, not as individuals, but as kingdoms.

If I have succeeded in convincing you that these assumptions are not warranted by the words of Scripture, Bishop Horsley's exposition will require no further refutation ; and few, I think can doubt, that had the learned prelate lived till now, he must of his own accord have abandoned such an interpretation. It would not, therefore, have been worth while to have called your attention to a theory, formed at a period when the horrors of the French Revolution were recent, and magnified by proximity, were it not for the incidental confirmation it gives to an opinion, that I shall have frequent occasion to inculcate ; and I could not, therefore, let slip the opportunity of shewing you how fully I am borne out by the bishop's authority in asserting, that Antichrist is yet to come ; or in other words, that no past events have hitherto been fixed upon by commentators, which, to an unbiassed reader of the sacred text, are in complete and satisfactory accordance with the words of prophecy.

LECTURE IV.

“ Quod Daniel deprecatus est, hoc a Deo meretur audire, quid futurum sit populo Israel, non in vicino tempore, sed in novissimis diebus, id est, in consummatione sæculi.” B. Hieron. Comm. in Dan. x. 14.

LECTURE IV.

DAN. xi. 36.

“And the king shall do according to his will ; and he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every god, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods, and shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished : for that that is determined shall be done.”

THE prophecy wherein these words occur occupies the last three chapters of the canonical portion of the Book of Daniel, and differs from the visions we have hitherto been examining, in the remarkable circumstances under which it was made known to the prophet.

The former prophecies were visions, wherein future events were portrayed by symbols, and symbolical actions ; and these symbols were accompanied, in each case, by an authoritative explanation. Thus Daniel was inspired with superhuman knowledge, to make known to Nebuchadnezzar, not only the dream that had faded from his memory, but also its interpretation. And the visions of the four great beasts, and of the ram and goat, exhibited to the prophet himself, were explained to him, in each case,

by angels who stood by. But in the prophecy which now comes before us, there was no vision, or at least no symbolical representation of the predicted events; the whole is what has been well called "prophetic history^a;" that is to say, it is a narrative of future events, given to Daniel by an angel or superior being, in language which we have no reason to think figurative or symbolical, and which is obscure and difficult, chiefly, perhaps, because it is as yet unfulfilled.

It is not, however, my intention to attempt an exposition of a portion of Scripture, upon whose interpretation the most eminent theologians of ancient and modern times have laboured, and laboured, as their disagreement proves, in vain. But I would remark, that this very disagreement is a convincing proof that the prophecy is not yet fulfilled. I cannot persuade myself to believe, that if this prediction had received its accomplishment two or three centuries before the Christian era, so much difficulty and uncertainty could still exist in the Christian Church, with respect to the reality of that fulfilment. I would argue

^a "The vision of an angel, who came to show Daniel that which was noted in the Scripture of truth, was not attended with symbolical representation. It is prophetic history." Maitland, *Attempt to investigate the Prophecies concerning Antichrist*, p. 12.

"In the third year of Cyrus, king of Persia," says Mr. Faber, "or almost immediate-

ly after the overthrow of the first of the four great empires, Daniel had another vision of anticipated history.....which remarkably differs from all the preceding visions, in the circumstance of its being a plain historical narrative, altogether undisguised by symbols or hieroglyphics." *Sacred Calendar*, vol. ii. p. 183.

therefore, from the widely discordant systems that have been proposed for the interpretation of this prophecy, and the great difficulties that commentators have experienced in their attempts to discover its counterpart in history, that the events to which it refers are as yet altogether future; and this opinion, if I mistake not, we shall find to be confirmed by several particulars mentioned in the prophecy itself.

In accordance, therefore, with the plan pursued in the examination of the prophecies hitherto considered, I shall begin by showing, that, notwithstanding the acknowledged obscurity of many parts of this prediction, enough is intelligible to convince the attentive reader, that it was intended to foretell the same events, which have already been made known in the preceding visions. I shall then endeavour to collect from the prophecy the additional particulars which it reveals. And lastly, I shall make some remarks on the principles that have hitherto been adopted by commentators in its interpretation.

I. First, then, I think it may be inferred from a careful comparison of this prophecy with the predictions already considered, that the same events are foretold, and the same characters, or actors, described in them all ^b.

^b Bishop Newton seems to admit this very distinctly when he says (Diss. xvi.) "It is the usual method of the Holy Spirit to make the latter prophecies explanatory of the former; and revelation is (Prov.

iv. 18) 'as the shining light that shineth more and more unto the perfect day.' The four great empires of the world which were shown to Nebuchadnezzar in the form of a great image, were again more

This will appear from the design and general structure of the prophecy; from the period or time in which the events predicted are to take place; and from a comparison of the king described in the text, "who shall do according to his will," with the "king of fierce countenance," and the eleventh king, foretold in the preceding visions.

1. Our first proof is to be drawn from the design and structure of this prophecy, compared with the former predictions.

(1.) The angel, for I suppose him to have been but a created angel^c, who was commissioned to make this

particularly represented to Daniel in the shape of four great wild beasts. In like manner, the memorable events which were revealed to Daniel in the vision of the ram and he-goat, are again here more clearly and explicitly revealed in his last vision by an angel; so that this latter prophecy may not improperly be said to be a comment and explanation of the former."

^c The principal reason for supposing this angel to have been more than a created angel, is drawn from a comparison of Dan. x. 5, with Rev. i. 13, and from the fact, that Daniel appears to have offered him a sort of worship (see ver. 15—17,) which was not refused. It is, however, far from being clear that worship, such as is due only to the Deity, can be inferred from Daniel's "setting his face towards the ground, and becoming dumb,"

or from his addressing the angel by the title of "Lord." Μηδὲ δὲ νομιζέτω (says Theodoret, Comm. in x. 17.) τὸν ὀφθέντα αὐτὸν εἶναι τὸν Διοσπότην, ἐπειδὴ κύριον αὐτὸν ὁ Δανιὴλ προσαγορεύει· οὗτος γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ τέλει τῆς ὁπτασίας, ἀνατίνας, φησὶν, εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ, ὡμοσὶν ἐν τῷ ζῶντι κυρίῳ, τὴν δουλείαν εὐγνωμόνως ὁμολογῶν. Κύριοι τοίνυν αὐτὸν ἀποκαλεῖ, οὐχ ὡς θεόν, ἀλλὰ τιμὴν ἀπονέμων τὴν προσήκουσαν· καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς τοῖς ἐντιμωτέροις τῶν ἀνθρώπων διαλεγόμενοι, τοῦτο κεχεῖσθαι εἰσθαμὴν τῷ προσεήματι, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ μακάριος Ἀβραὰμ τοὺς ἀγγέλους ὡς ἄνδρας θιασάμενος, καὶ ὡς ἀνδράσι διαλεγόμενος, δοῖμαι κύριε, εἶπεν, εἰ ἄρα ἔσθαι χάριν ἐναντίον σου, μὴ παρελθῇς τὸν παῖδά σου· καὶ ἡ μακάριος Βεβίκα τῷ οἰκέτῃ τοῦ μακαρίου Ἀβραὰμ, πῆε, φησι, κύριε, καὶ ταῖς καμήλοις σου ὑδρευσομαι· οὐποῦν καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὸ κύριος οὐ τὸν τῶν ὄλων σημαίνον Θεόν· καὶ τοῦτο σαφίστιρον ἐκ τοῦ τέλους

revelation to the prophet, tells Daniel, expressly, that his object was "to show him that which is noted in the scripture of truth^d;" and immediately afterwards he prefaces his communication by the announcement, "and now I will show thee the truth^e."

To understand this, we must bear in mind, that the word "scripture," which has now acquired a sort of consecrated signification, here denotes simply a writing, a written document; and it would seem that allusion was made to some writing, with which Daniel was already acquainted, and which was known to him, by the name or characteristic of "truth."

What this was, we shall perhaps be enabled to conjecture if we look back to the vision recorded in the eighth chapter, where the angel who explained it says to Daniel, "and the vision of the evening and the morning which was told, is true;" or as the words may be more closely rendered, "the vision of the evening and the morning which was told, it is truth^f." It is not improbable therefore that by "the truth," and "the writing of truth (כתב אמת)," the angel may have alluded to this former prophecy, which Daniel expressly tells us no man was able to understand or to interpret^g, and which from the

אֱלֹהֵי מִלְכֵּי שָׁמַיִם. I may add also that the dress of the angel, compared with Rev. i. 13, proves nothing, when we consider that created angels are described as habited in the same manner, Rev. xv. 6.

^d Dan. x. 21.

^e Dan. xi. 2.

^f Dan. viii. 26. The original words are;

זִמְרָא הָעֶרֶב וְהַבֶּקֶר אֲשֶׁר נֹאמַר אִמְתָּ הוּא :

^g Dan. viii. 27. The Latin Vulgate reads, Et non erat qui interpretaretur. Which seems better to represent the force of the Hiphil participle, וְאִין מִבֵּין,

astonishment it excited in his mind, we may presume he felt anxious to have explained to him.

If this conjecture, therefore, be well founded, it will follow that the prophecy before us should be considered as a more full revelation of the same events, which were predicted before in the vision of the ram and the he-goat. And it may be remarked, that Daniel speaks of it as having removed the obscurity, of which he before complained; for he thus introduces this last of his prophecies, "In the third year of Cyrus, king of Persia, a thing was revealed unto Daniel, whose name was called Belteshazzar; and the thing was true, but the time appointed was long; and he understood the thing, and had understanding of the vision^b."

(2.) We may observe also, a very remarkable correspondence between the structure of this prophecy, or in other words between the outline of prophetic history here given, and the vision to which I have just alluded.

The great horn of the goat, represented in the

than our version. The interpretation which I have here ventured to propose, of the expression "scripture of truth," has, I find, the authority of Calmet, (Comm. Litt. in loc.) "*Ce qui est marquée dans l'Écriture de la vérité. Ce que vous avez écrit des visions précédentes. Ces paroles vraies, mais scélérées* (Dan. viii 26, xii. 4, 9,) que je vous ai déjà découvertes, et qui renferment encore

divers mystères inconnus, et non expliqués."

I would add also that the accents in the pointed Hebrew text seem to indicate that אמת is in apposition with כתב, and should be considered as the name or title of the writing spoken of; "the writing, Truth." i. e. "the writing which is known by the name of אמת, Truth."

^b Dan. x. 1.

vision a powerful king, who after a rapid and irresistible career of victory, was suddenly broken in the height of his prosperity, and his kingdom divided into four¹.

In the angel's prophecy an exact parallel is found for these facts. "A mighty king," we read, "shall stand up, that shall rule with great dominion, and do according to his will; and when he shall stand up, his kingdom shall be broken, and shall be divided toward the four winds of heaven; and not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion which he ruled¹."

The circumstance last mentioned is particularly to be noted, as supplying a minute and remarkable point of coincidence between the two prophecies; for you will recollect, that it was expressly said of the four kingdoms in the vision of the goat, "four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his [the first king's] power^k."

The vision goes on to state that in the "latter time" of these four kingdoms, "when transgressors are come to the full, a king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences, shall stand up¹." And the prophecy of the angel, after a minute account of various contests and minor revolutions, that shall take place in the more remarkable of the four kingdoms, events which were left unnoticed in the former vision, speaks of "a vile person" who shall at length

¹ Chap. viii. 8, 22.

¹ Chap. xi. 3, 4.

^k Ch. viii. 22.

¹ Ver. 23.

“stand up” and “obtain the kingdom,” and whose character and actions, as we shall see presently, coincide remarkably with those of the king of fierce countenance.

At present, however, I shall only notice this general point of coincidence between them, that they are both to stand up at the latter end of the kingdoms into which the original kingdom is divided. For the “vile person” described in the prophecy of the angel, shall not arise, until after the discomfiture of many of the potentates that shall be distinguished in the various wars and revolutions predicted; and in particular, not until after the king of the north, the most remarkable of them, has “stumbled and fallen, and is not found^m.”

Thus then, I think it appears, that the same general outline of prophetic history is very plainly given in the two predictions; and, although in the latter, many minute details are related, which are not to be found in the former, still the general correspondence is so striking, as to render it almost certain that the same events must be the subject of both.

2. We shall be confirmed in this conclusion by observing, that the period, to which the events foretold are determined,—the era, that is, when they are to take place,—is the same in both prophecies.

The angel Gabriel, who was sent to interpret to

^m Ch. xi. 19. The expression “he shall not be found,” (אין מציא) as we shall see presently, is not to be taken as

implying the utter destruction of the king of the north, for he appears again in the prophecy, ver. 40.

Daniel the vision of the goat, began his explanation of it by the announcement, "that at the time of the end shall be the vision;" he added also, "Behold I will make thee know what shall be at the last end of the indignation, for it is unto the season of the end ^a;" and he concludes by the intimation that the vision shall be "unto many days ^o."

All these notes of time will be found repeated, and in the very same words, in the prophecy of the angel; who thus announces to Daniel the object of his mission; "Now I am come to make thee understand what shall befall thy people in the latter days, for yet the vision is for many days ^p." We read too, of the infidel king, that "he shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished ^q;" "the time of the end" also, and "the time appointed" are mentioned more than once throughout the prophecy. For example, "And some of them of understanding shall fall, to try them, and to purge, and to make them white, even to the time of the end; because it is yet for a time appointed ^r."

Other marks of time, which indicate the identity of these prophecies, may also be pointed out. Thus, the period of a time, times, and the dividing of a time, which in the vision of the four beasts was assigned as the duration of the persecution to which the saints were to be subjected, under the tyranny

^a See pages 118, 119.

^o Dan. viii. 17, 19, 26.

^p Ch. x. 14.

^q Ch. xi. 36.

^r Ver. 35. Comp. also ver. 40, and xii. 4, 9.

of the little horn', is here repeated in the same connexion; for after mention made of "a time of trouble such as never was since there was a nation, even to that same time," the question is asked, "How long shall it be to the end of these wonders?" And "the man clothed in linen" answers by lifting up his hands to heaven, and swearing "by him that liveth for ever and ever, that it shall be for a time, times, and an half'."

If, therefore, the general outline of these prophecies be the same; and if it appear further, that the notes of time and the periods wherein the events predicted are to take place are also identical, the proof would seem to be complete, that the same events are intended in them all.

3. This will be made still more evident by a comparison of the history of the king described in our text, with the king foretold in the visions, under the emblem of the little horn of the beast, and the little horn of the goat.

From the prophecies we have already examined, it appears, if I am right in supposing them to remain still unfulfilled, that we are to look forward to the rise of a formidable power or monarchy, "diverse" from all former kingdoms, of extensive sway, irresistible, cruel, and tyrannical in the exercise of its authority, and whose final destruction shall be effected, not by any human arm, but by the actual coming of our Lord Himself to judgment.

* Dan. vii. 25.

† Dan. xii. 1, 6, 7.

We have seen also, that this terrible empire shall be divided among ten kings, (whom modern commentators have unwarrantably supposed to be kingdoms,) and also, or at least one great branch of it, into four kingdoms, "toward the four winds of heaven^u;" that among the ten kings, and out of one of the four kingdoms, shall arise an eleventh king, before whom three of the former kings shall fall, and "be plucked up by the roots^v."

This eleventh king is then minutely described in the prophetic visions; he is to be, in some way that is not particularly revealed, "diverse" from all the kings who went before him; he is to be remarkable for the extravagant exercise of despotic power, and for blasphemous words which he shall utter against the Most High; he is to wear out the saints, and to destroy them, and they are to be delivered into his hand for a period which is stated and defined; he is to take away the daily sacrifice, and to give the sanctuary to be trodden under foot; and this desolation is to continue for a period which is also defined in the prophecy; "his power shall be mighty," but, it is added, "not by his own power^w;" and he is to be further characterised by craft and policy.

We saw reason also to believe, with the ancient Church, that this formidable prediction is to be verified by an individual king, and not, as so many modern commentators have assumed, by a kingdom, or a succession of kings; and we are told that this great

^u Dan. viii. 8, 22. ^v Chap. vii. 8, 20, 24. ^w Chap. viii. 24.

enemy of the saints, of "the mighty and the holy people of the Most High," who is described as "a king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences," will be destroyed, his dominion taken away, and himself "broken without hand," by the literal coming of the Ancient of days to judgment^{*}.

These particulars are clearly revealed in the three visions to which I have already endeavoured to call your attention. The vision of the image represented in rapid outline the history of four great kingdoms, but especially dwelt on the character and progress of the fourth, and described its destruction by the immediate power of the Almighty, together with the establishment by the God of heaven, of a kingdom that shall never be destroyed.

The vision of the four beasts dwelt in like manner on the history of the fourth kingdom, but introduced also three other kingdoms, which will apparently be cotemporary with it; and here was further and very distinctly revealed the division of the kingdom among ten kings, together with the rise and actions of the eleventh king.

The vision of the ram, vanquished by the he-goat, represented the fourth kingdom as one of four cotemporary kingdoms, symbolized by the four horns of the goat; and gave an account also of its relation to other kingdoms that do not appear to have had any counterpart in the preceding visions. This prophecy continues the history of the blasphemous king,

^{*} Ch. viii. 25. Comp. with vii. 8—14.

and makes known to us several new particulars of his character and conduct.

But the prophecy we are now to examine, while it minutely describes the divided state of the kingdom, and alludes distinctly to the same fourfold division, makes known to us also, in describing the events of "the time of the end," the exploits of a king whose character, and actions, and ultimate destruction coincide most remarkably with the history of the king foretold in the former prophecies.

This, therefore, it must now be my business to prove to you; and first, it will be easy by a comparison of the three prophecies to show that the same character and actions are ascribed to this king in them all. For,

(1.) The king, in each prophecy, is represented as rising from small beginnings to great and extensive sway. Thus, in the visions, a little horn was seen to exalt itself above its fellows, and finally to obtain the complete mastery; and in the prophecy now before us, we read, that "a vile person" (or, a person despised, נבזה) "shall stand up, to whom they shall not give the honour of the kingdom;" and it is said

* Dan. xi. 21. The Vulgate is, "Et stabit in loco ejus despectus." St. Jerome (Comm. in loc.) after mentioning the opinion of Porphyry, says, "Nostri autem et melius interpretantur et rectius: quod in fine mundi hæc sit facturus Antichristus, qui consurgere habet de modica gente, id est,

de populo Judæorum, et tam humilis erit atque despectus, ut ei non detur honor regius, et per insidias, et fraudulentiam obtineat principatum, et bracchia pugnantis populi Romani, expugnentur ab eo, et conterantur; et hoc faciet quia simulabit se ducem esse fœderis, hoc est, Legis et Testa-

of him that "he shall come up, and shall become strong with a small people^a."

(2.) Two remarkable characteristics of him also, which were mentioned in one of the former prophecies, are repeated here. One is, that "through his policy, he shall cause craft to prosper in his hand," and the other, that "by peace he shall destroy many^b." And accordingly we find the same things attributed to the "vile person" in the prophecy before us. "He shall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries, and with the arms of a flood they shall be overflowed from before him, and shall be broken;" "after the league made with him, he shall work deceitfully;"—"he shall enter peaceably even upon the fattest places of the province;"—"he shall forecast his devices against the strong-holds even for a time;" "and such as do wickedly against the covenant shall he corrupt by flatteries^c."

(3.) The king of the former prophecies was especially remarkable for blasphemous words and pretensions. "He shall speak great words against the Most High," "and think to change times and laws;"—"he magnified himself even to the Prince of the host," "he

menti Dei. Et ingreditur urbes ditissimas, et faciet quæ non fecerunt patres ejus, et patres patrum illius. Nullus enim Judæorum absque Antichristo in toto unquam orbe regnavit. Et contra firmissimas cogitationes sanctorum in-

ibit consilium, facietque universa usque ad tempus: donec eum Dei voluntas facere ista permiserit."

^a Ver. 23.

^b Chap. viii. 25.

^c Chap. xi. 21, 23, 24, 32.

shall magnify himself in his heart," and "he shall also stand up against the Prince of princes ^d." And the same characteristic, is, if possible, more distinctly ascribed to him in this third prophecy; for we read, "and the king shall do according to his will; and he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every god, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods;" "neither shall he regard the God of his fathers;" "nor regard any god, for he shall magnify himself above all ^e."

(4.) Another characteristic which enables us to identify the king described in the three prophecies, is his persecution of the people of God. Of the eleventh horn of the fourth beast we read, that he "shall make war with the saints, and prevail against them," and that he "shall wear out the saints of the most High ^f;" and of the little horn of the goat it is said that "he shall destroy the mighty and the holy people," and that "by him the daily sacrifice shall be taken away, and the place of his sanctuary cast down ^g." The very same actions are ascribed to the infidel king in the prophecy of the angel; "his heart shall be against the holy covenant;" he shall have "indignation against the holy covenant;" "and arms shall stand on his part, and they shall pollute the sanctuary of strength, and shall take away the daily sacrifice, and they shall place the abomination that maketh desolate;" "they that understand among the peo-

^d Chap. vii. 25, viii. 11, 25.

^e Chap. xi. 36, 37.

^f Chap. vii. 21, 25.

^g Chap. viii. 24, 11.

ple, shall fall by the sword, and by flame, and by captivity and by spoil, many days ;” and “ he shall plant the tabernacles of his palaces between the seas in the glorious holy mountain ^h. ”

(5.) It was particularly mentioned before that the king, symbolized by the little horn of the fourth beast, was to be “ diverse ” from the former kings ; and accordingly we find it said of the king described in the prophecy of the angel, “ he shall do that which his fathers have not done, nor his fathers’ fathers ⁱ. ”

But secondly, that the same king is foretold in the three prophecies, will appear further from the fact that the same destruction is described as terminating the career of each.

The blasphemous king, predicted in the vision of the four beasts, is said to have prevailed against the saints “ until the Ancient of days came ; ” and again, “ but the judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume and to destroy it unto the end ^j ; ” and of the wilful king in the prophecy of the angel, we read, “ he shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished, for that that is determined shall be done ; ” “ he shall come to his end, and none shall help him. And at that time shall Michael stand up, the great prince which standeth for the children of thy people, and there shall be a time of

^h Chap. xi. 28, 30, 31, 33, 45.

ⁱ Chap. xi. 24. St. Jerome interprets this, (in reference to the supposed Jewish origin of Antichrist,) as implying that no

Jew until the time of Antichrist shall ever be monarch of the world. See the words quoted above, page 147, note ^a.

^j Chap. vii. 21, 22, 26.

trouble, such as never was since there was a nation even to that same time ; and at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book ^k." And this is evidently parallel to what we read in the vision of the rough goat, that "he shall stand up against the Prince of princes, but he shall be broken without hand ^l."

From the exact agreement of these prophecies, therefore, in their general outline, in their marks of time, in so many of their minute details, and especially in the history of the blasphemous king, the conclusion seems inevitable that they must be intended to predict the same events.

II. But the prophecy contains some additional particulars, not revealed in the preceding visions, which I shall now proceed to consider. Several of these, while they communicate new and important information, will be found to coincide very remarkably with the characteristics of the blasphemous king with which we are already acquainted, and therefore so far confirm the conclusion I have drawn, of the identity of the events foretold in these prophecies.

1. Many of the facts to which I allude are so obscure, that no satisfactory explanation of them has ever yet been given, and they will never perhaps be fully understood until the prophecy is fulfilled. For example, we are told, that "with the arms of a flood, shall they be overflown from before

^k Chap. xi. 36, 45, xii. 1.

^l Chap. viii. 25.

him, and shall be broken ; yea, also the prince of the covenant ^m ;” that “ he shall stir up his power and his courage against the king of the south, with a great army ; and the king of the south shall be stirred up to battle with a very great and mighty army ; but he shall not stand : for they shall forecast devices against him ⁿ .” But this victory, as it would seem, shall lead to an alliance between the contending parties, for we read, “ And both these kings’ hearts shall be to do mischief, and they shall speak lies at one table ^o .” Many other circumstances of a similarly minute character, are mentioned in the prophecy, but I shall not occupy your time in detailing them, because I am unable to say more of them, than that I believe they will remain obscure, and in a great measure unintelligible, until they are interpreted by the event ^p .

^m Dan. xi. 22.

ⁿ Ver. 25.

^o Ver. 27.

^p The difficulties of this prophecy are greatly increased by the ambiguity of some of the pronouns, whose antecedents it is sometimes not easy to determine. For example, chap. xi. 5, “ And the king of the south shall be strong, and one of his princes :” may mean, either one of the princes of the king of the south, or one of the princes of the “ mighty king” mentioned in ver. 3. Again ver. 7, “ Out of a branch of her root shall one stand up in his estate,” may be, “ in the estate of him that strengthened her,” (ver. 6,) or in the estate of the king of the north ; nor is it

it certain whether the king of the north, and “ he that strengthened her,” are not one and the same. Similar difficulties occur frequently throughout the prophecy, see ver. 10, 11, 17, 18, 20, &c.

These ambiguities are generally preserved in the versions, and others often introduced, which have been the cause of much discrepancy of exposition amongst the ancient commentators. For example, the Hebrew seems to make the “ raiser of taxes” (ver. 20) and the “ vile person” (ver. 21) two different agents, and so the Latin Vulgate, and Syriac. But Theodotion makes them one and the same, having evidently taken נָכַר in ver. 21, as

This however, is clear, that they describe a state of war and contest, by which the infidel king shall arrive at great dominion ; and that when at the height of his power, when he shall have successfully resisted all the attempts of his enemies, and attained every object of his ambition, when he shall have succeeded in planting “the tabernacles of his palaces between the seas in the glorious holy mountain,” then “he shall come to his end and none shall help him^r.”

2. We learned from the former prophecies that the king who is described in them shall be remarkable for blasphemy and impiety ; but here we have some additional information as to the nature and degree of his infidelity. For we find that although he shall “exalt himself, and magnify himself above every God,” yet he shall nevertheless set up idolatrous worship in its grossest form : that, while he shall neither “regard the God of his fathers,” nor indeed any god, but shall “magnify himself above all,” yet he shall honour the god “of forces,” “Mauzzim, or gods protectors,” as the margin of our English Bible reads it, “and a god whom his fathers knew not,

a verb; Καὶ ἀναστήσεται ἐκ τῆς ρίζης αὐτοῦ Φυτὸν τῆς βασιλείας ἐπὶ τὴν ἰτοιμασίαν αὐτοῦ παραβιβάζων, πρᾶττων, δόξαν βασιλείας· καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ἔτι συντριβήσεται, καὶ οὐκ ἐν προσώποις οὐδὲ ἐν πολέμῳ, στήσεται ἐπὶ τὴν ἰτοιμασίαν αὐτοῦ, ἐξουθενώθη, καὶ οὐκ ἔδωκαν ἐπ’ αὐτὸν δόξαν βασιλείας. But it will be seen that none of these difficulties affect the ar-

gument employed in the text, for whether we consider the “raiser of taxes” in ver. 20, as the same or a different person from the “despised one” in ver. 21, the agreement of the prophecies which it is my object to point out will be equally clear.

^r Ver. 45.

shall he honour with gold, and with silver, and with precious stones, and pleasant things¹."

¹ Ver. 36—38. The construction of this passage is extremely difficult; our translators have considered the verb יכבד as followed by ל, or, as we would say, in the language of the Latin grammar, as governing the Dative case; of which there is an example, Ps. lxxxvi. 9, יכבדו לַשֵּׁךְ. The Greek and Latin versions have left the word מַעֲזִים untranslated; whence, as we learn from St. Jerome, Porphyry considered it as a proper name of a town. "Deum Maozim ridicule Porphyrius interpretatus est, ut diceret in vico Modin unde fuit Matthatias, et filii ejus, Antiochi duces, Jovis possuisse statuam; et compulisse Judæos, ut ei victimas immolarent, id est, deo Modin." (Comm. in loc.) Junius understands מַעֲזִים of the true God, and renders the passage thus, "Et quod ad Deum summi roboris, [id est Deum Israelis,] in sede ejus honorabit, honorabit, inquam, Deum quem non agnoverint majores ejus, &c." but this version is inconsistent with the accentuation, and does not apply to ver. 39. Sir Isaac Newton, and Bishop Newton follow Mede in supposing *Mahuzzim* to denote the saints, guardian angels, &c., worshipped in the Church of Rome; and Bishop Horsley says, "I attempt not to translate the word מַעֲזִים, but after the example of the LXX.,

Vulgate, and other old translations, retain it as a proper name, or title, of the same principal object of antichrist's idolatry. But there is nothing in the etymology of the word which necessarily refers it to the saints and angels of the Church of Rome. In its form, the word is plural, but singular in it's signification, if it be the antecedent (as the LXX. take it to be) of the suffixed pronoun in the word כְּנִי, which I render, his pedestal. It is true, the antecedent of this pronoun may be the nominative case of the verb יכבד. In this manner, our English translators have taken the construction of the passage; and I think the Vulgate. This nominative case is the pronoun הוּא (he) understood, rehearsing מֶלֶךְ (the king.) If this be the true construction, the words עַל כְּנִי should be rendered—'Upon his own pedestal;' and then it would seem that this idol, Mohozim, will be a statue, or image, of the antichristian emperor himself, with attributes emblematical of his strength and power, for which he will claim divine honours. And all this seems to me very probable. For self-deification, in the highest import of the word, will certainly be the last act of Antichrist's impiety." Letter II. to the author of 'Antichrist in the French Convention.' Brit. Magazine, vol. v. p. 139. Mr.

This combination of blasphemy, infidelity, and idolatry, strange and inconsistent as it may seem, is not without example in the history of mankind.

3. The events of "the time of the end," which are to terminate in the destruction of this infidel power, are more fully detailed here than in any of the preceding prophecies. The king of the north and the king of the south shall again recover their power, and combine their forces for his destruction. "At the time of the end shall the king of the south push at him: and the king of the north shall come against him like a whirlwind, with chariots, and with horsemen, and with many ships;" but in vain, for "he shall enter into the countries, and shall overflow and pass over. He shall enter also into the glorious land and many countries shall be overthrown '."

Faber translates the passage, "he shall honour strong military protectors in his office, decorating them with gold and silver, and precious stones and desirable things;" and appears to consider the prophecy as having been fulfilled in the military character of France, under what he calls "the Francic Emperorship erected by Napoleon Buonapartè." *Sacred Calendar*, vol. ii. p. 256—260.

One thing, however, seems pretty generally admitted, whatever interpretation of the passage be adopted, that some gross form of idolatry or blasphemy is foretold; and this

admission is enough for my present purpose.

^c Ver. 40, 41. There is in this passage an instance of the ambiguities with which the prophecy abounds. It is by no means easy at first sight to determine whether the words last quoted describe the actions of the wilful king, or those of the king of the north who shall come against him. But the interpretation that I have given, which supposes it to be the former who shall enter into the countries, and into the glorious land, seems to be the most natural; and is that which has been adopted by a majority of commentators.—

From this part of the prophecy, therefore, we may infer that the infidel king, after he is attacked by the united forces of the kings of the north and south, shall "enter into the countries," that is probably the countries bordering upon Judæa, and shall occupy "the glorious land" of Israel itself. That Edom and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon, "shall escape out of his hand," but that he shall overcome Egypt, Libya, and Ethiopia.

Many of the ancients were of opinion that the future kings of these countries will be the three kings, mentioned in the vision of the four beasts, who are to fall before the eleventh king^u; and if so, it may perhaps be inferred that these three, with the three who shall escape out of his hands, and the kings of the north, south, east, and west, are the ten kings symbolized by the ten horns of the fourth beast. This

Some indeed are of opinion that the wilful king (ver. 26) and "the king of the north" (ver. 40,) are one and the same. But this I cannot feel satisfied of; for the emphatic article, "the king," *וְהַמֶּלֶךְ*, (ver. 36,) seems to imply that the king there mentioned was the same whose exploits were the subject of the preceding verses; and therefore I am persuaded that "the vile person" (ver. 21,) who is called a king (ver. 27,) is "the king" of ver. 26, who "shall do according to his will," and against whom the king of the south and the king of the north shall come, (ver. 40.)

^u So St. Jerome, (Comm. in Dan. xi. 40, 41,) after mentioning Porphyry's attempt to interpret the passage of Antiochus, adds, "Nostri autem ad Antichristum et ista referentes, dicunt quod primum pugnaturus sit contra regem Austri, id est, Ægypti, et postea Libyas et Æthiopas superaturus; quæ de decem cornibus tria contrita cornua supra legimus; et quia venturus sit in terram Israel, et multæ ei vel urbes vel provinciæ daturæ manus." It seems therefore, that this was then the common opinion. Hippolytus (de Antichr. c. 52,) and Theodoret held it; the latter (in Dan. xi.

establishes another point of agreement between the prophecies, which should have been adduced in its proper place, but that it was not necessary to my purpose to bring forward any thing that can be said to rest upon hypothesis or conjecture. I now allude to it as an ancient opinion, which I leave you to consider for yourselves, and which at least deserves to be thus far noticed.

4. The prophecy, however, goes on to state, that after he shall have obtained power "over the treasures of gold and of silver," and over all the precious things of Egypt, and after "the Libyans and the Ethiopians shall be at his steps^v," he shall be troubled^w by "tidings out of the east, and out of the north," and that he shall therefore "go forth with great fury to destroy and utterly to make away many. And he shall plant the tabernacles of his palaces between the seas in the glorious holy moun-

43,) says, Καὶ ταῦτα δι' ἡκιστα ἀρμόττει τῷ Ἀντίχρῳ· οὔτε γὰρ Λιβύας, οὔτε Αἰθιοπίας ἐκράτησιν, οὔτε δὲ αὐτῆς τῆς Αἰγύπτου· προσταχθεὶς γὰρ ὑπὸ Ρωμαίων ἀνιστρεφείν, ὥστε ἐνταῦθεν σημαίνεισθαι τὰ τρία κέρατα, ἃ τὸ μικρὸν κέρας ἀνιστρεφείν· καὶ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα τρία ἴδιη μέγιστα, Αἴγυπτον, καὶ Αἰθιοπίαν, καὶ Λιβύαν, ὑπὸ τριῶν, ὡς εἰκὸς βασιλείαν κατεχόμενα καταλύσει οὗτος, καὶ ὑφ' ἐαυτὸν ποιήσεται. See also Malvenda de Antichristo, lib. v. cap. 8, 9.

^v Ver. 43.

^w This passage may perhaps be rendered "Tidings (ἡγερσῶ, auditions) shall hasten him (ἰβρלה) from the east and from

the north." See Esth. viii 14. Eccl. v. 1, vii. 9. "The tidings from the east and north," says Mede, (Works, p. 816,) "may be that of the return of Judah and Israel from those quarters. For Judah was carried captive at the first into the east, and Israel by the Assyrian into the north, (namely, in respect of the holy land,) and in those parts the greatest number of each are dispersed at this day. Of the reduction of Israel from the north, see the prophecies, Jer. xvi. 14, 15, and chap. xxiii. 8, also chap. xxxi. 8."

tain; yet he shall come to his end, and none shall help him *."

We may infer, therefore, that after the conquest of Egypt, Libya, and Ethiopia, the wilful king shall rapidly attain to the summit of his power, and shall successfully invade Judæa, and plant his tabernacles in Zion, the site of the Temple of God, "the glorious holy mountain;" but that while there exalted in all the triumph of victory, he shall suddenly "come to his end, and none shall help him *."

5. The prophecy tells us farther that these events shall be connected with a season of unexampled trouble, to be succeeded by the deliverance of the Jewish people, and then by the general resurrection of the dead. These particulars are revealed in the opening words of the twelfth chapter, which has been very injudiciously separated from the eleventh. "And at that time," that is to say, after Antichrist shall have succeeded in occupying the holy mountain,

* Ver. 44, 45. The word אפדנו which our translators render "his palace," is left untranslated in the Vulgate, and several ancient versions, "Et figet tabernaculum suum Apadno inter maria, &c." Hence some of the ancients took it as a proper name, as in Theodoret, following the version of Theodotion, πῆξει τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ ἐν Ἀπαδανῷ, on which he remarks Ἀπαδανὸν δὲ [καλεῖ] τόπον τινὰ οὕτως ὀνομασμένον οὐ πύρρον τῶν ἱεροσολύμων διακείμενον. (Comm. in Dan. xi. 45;) but this seems hardly reconcilable with the

Hebrew text. For other opinions the reader is referred to Malvenda de Antichristo. lib. v. cap. 22.

† "From an attention consideration of the divine oracles," says Mr. Faber, "the early Fathers generally maintained, that Palestine is the stage, on which Antichrist, in the height of his impiety, is doomed finally to perish: and I see not what other conclusion can be reasonably drawn from the eminent prediction now before us." Sacred Calendar, vol. ii. p. 271.

“at that time shall Michael stand up, the great prince which standeth for the children of thy people: and there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation even to that same time: and at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book. And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt. And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament: and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever ^z.”

It appears therefore from this prophecy, that “the saints,” “the mighty and the holy people,” who, as we learned from the former visions, are to be delivered into the hands of Antichrist, to be worn out by him, and persecuted even to destruction, are in fact no other than the Jewish people. This might perhaps have been inferred from the terms “saints” and “holy people,” which were always so understood by the Jews ^a; as well as from the fact which is so dis-

^z Dan. xii. 1—3.

^a So R. Solomon (Raschi) Comm. in Dan. vii. 18;

ויקבלון מלכותא קדישא עליונין. אלו

ישראל שיתלו המלכות מהרביעית:

“*But the saints of the Most High shall take the kingdom.*” These are Israel; who shall take the kingdom from the fourth.”

So also R. Isaac, (Chizzuk emunah; ap. Wagenseil, Tela ignea Satanæ p. 89.) quoting

Dan. vii. 27, and Is. lx. 12,

להיות עם קדישי עליונים רומן לאומת ישראל אינבו שום ספק כי בהרבה מקומות בתורה ובנביאים ובכתובים הכתוב קורא אותן ואזכיר מקצתם: בתורה שמות י'ט' ואתם תהיו לי וגו' ובספר דברים י' כי עם קדוש אתה וגו' וכן סימן י'ד' עוד שם לא תאכלו וגו' ובנבואת ישעיה' ס'ב' וקראו להם עם הקדוש וגו' ובספר ס'ג' למענך ירשו עם קדוש וגו' ובנבואת ירמיה' ב' קדש ישראל

tinctly revealed, that the abolition of the daily sacrifice, and the profanation of the sanctuary, words which imply the previous existence of the Jewish worship, formed a part of the persecution that is to be carried on against them. But in the prophecy

לֹא וְגו' וּבְכַתוּבִים בְּסֵפֶר דָּנִיֵּאל ד' וְיִקְבְּלוּ
מַלְכוּתָא קֳדִישִׁי עֲלֵינוּ וְגו' וְכֵן שֵׁם יֵב'
וּבְכַלּוֹת נִפְץ יָד עִם קִדְשׁ וְגו'

“And that by the people of the saints of the Most High is meant the people of Israel, there cannot be a doubt; in many places in the Law, in the Prophets, and in the Hagiographa, the Scripture so calls them; and I will enumerate some of these passages; in the Law, Exod. xii. [6,] *And ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests, and a holy nation, &c.*; and chap. xxii. [31,] *And ye shall be holy men unto me, &c.* And in the book of Deut. vii. [6,] *For thou art an holy people unto the Lord thy God, &c.* And so likewise ch. xiv. [21,] *Ye shall not eat of any thing that dieth of itself: thou shalt give it unto the stranger that is in thy gates, that he may eat it; or thou mayest sell it unto an alien; for thou art an holy people unto the Lord thy God.* And in the Prophecy of Isaiah lxii. [12,] *And they shall call them the holy people, &c.*; and ch. lxiii. [18,] *The people of thy holiness have possessed it but a little while, &c.* And in the prophecy of Jeremiah, ii. [3,] *Israel was holiness to the Lord,*

&c. And in the Hagiographa, in the book of Daniel, vii. [18,] *And the saints of the Most High shall take the kingdom, &c.* And so also ibid. ch. xii. [7,] *And when he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, &c.*”

R. Saadiah Gaon, Comm. on Dan. vii. 18.

וְיִקְבְּלוּ. וְאֵלֶּה הַמַּלְכוּתִּים יִקְבְּלוּ מַלְכוּתָא
שֶׁל יִשְׂרָאֵל שֶׁהֵם קֳדִישִׁי עֲלֵינוּ כְּכַתִּיב
כִּי עִם קִדְשׁ אַתָּה לֵאלֹהִי וּבְכֹתִיב וְלִתְתֹךְ עָלֶיךָ
וְעַל אֲשֶׁר יִסְרְדוּ בֵּינִי תִּגְמַל מִהֶם מַלְכוּתָם
וְתִתֵּן לֵאלֹהִי אַרְבַּע מַלְכוּתִּים וְיִרְשׁוּ הַמַּלְכוּתִּים
בְּעוֹלָם הַזֶּה וְיִגְלוּ יִשְׂרָאֵל וְיִשְׁתַּעֲבְדוּ תַּחְתָּם
עַד הָעוֹלָם הַבָּא עַד שִׁמְלוֹךְ מִשִּׁיחַ:

“*Shall take.*” And these kingdoms shall take the kingdom of Israel, who are the saints of the Most High, as it is written, [Deut. vii. 6,] *For thou art an holy people unto the Lord;* and it is written [Deut. xxvi. 19,] *And to make thee high.* And because that they shall rebel against the Lord, their kingdom shall be taken from them, and shall be given to these four kingdoms, and they shall possess the kingdom in this world; and Israel shall be in captivity, and shall be in servitude under them until the world to come, until Messiah shall reign.”

now before us, we are expressly told, that the people of Israel, and their future history, are the objects of the prediction; for the angel, as we have seen, thus announced to Daniel the intent of his mission,—“Now I am come to make thee understand what shall befall *thy people*,” that is, of course, the Jewish people, “in the latter days;” and the same phrase is here used, “At that time *thy people* shall be delivered^b.”

^b I am glad to be able to confirm my own view of this part of the prophecy by the high authorities of Mr. Gresswell and Mr. Maitland. The latter says, “If it was uncertain from the former visions who were meant by ‘*the saints*’ who should be delivered into the hands of Antichrist, and persecuted by him, that uncertainty seems to be removed by the declaration of the angel—‘Now I am come to make thee understand what shall befall *thy people* in the latter days,’ c. x. 14. That is, says Jerome, ‘*Quid futurum sit populo Israel, non in vicino tempore, sed in novissimis diebus, id est, in consummatione seculi.*’ It is added by the angel (xii. 1) ‘at that time *thy people* shall be delivered.’ The holy people mentioned (c. viii. 24) might indeed, even if we had not the angel’s explanation, have been supposed to be the same as the holy people, c. xii. 7.” Attempt to elucidate the Prophecies concerning Antichrist,

p. 14. Mr. Gresswell’s words are, “The terms which occur so repeatedly in Isaiah, Daniel, and the rest of the prophets, of the *redeemed*, the *chosen*, the *elect*, the *holy seed*, the *saints*, or the like, were applicable at the time to the Jews alone; and therefore must be supposed to have been meant of them, in some sense or other. Nor is it necessary, in construing such terms, to take into account the possible distinction between the *literal*, and the *spiritual* Israel; for the holy seed, of which these promises were first made, and in whose fortunes they are still to be accomplished, even though the literal seed of Abraham is the spiritual also. The spiritual seed of Abraham are all they, who inherit the faith of Abraham; and even the literal seed, which inherits this quality of their natural progenitor, is as much his spiritual seed, as the faithful Gentile, who has no natural claim to be any thing else.” Exposition of the Parables, vol. i. p. 359.

I conceive therefore that the license, which is so commonly assumed by commentators, of attributing whatsoever is written in Holy Scripture of the people of Israel, to the Christian Church generally, is here utterly unjustifiable; and that the true inference to be drawn from the prophecies we are considering is this; that Antichrist, the king of fierce countenance, who shall do according to his will, and plant the tabernacles of his palaces on the glorious holy mountain, shall seek to wear out and to exterminate the Jewish people, and that "they shall be given into his hand, until a time, and times, and the dividing of a time ^c."

6. And here I would return for a moment to notice some particulars in a former prophecy, which will receive an important light from the remarks that have just been made.

The little horn of the fourth beast was seen to "make war with the saints;" and he "prevailed against them," says the prophet, "until the Ancient of days came, and judgment was given to the saints of the most High; and the time came that the saints possessed the kingdom." And again we read, that after the destruction of Antichrist, "the kingdom, and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey Him ^d."

^c Dan. vii. 25.

^d Dan. vii. 21, 22, 27.

These prophecies it has been the custom to understand exclusively, of the final triumph of true religion, an event which is no doubt included in them; but I think they foretell also very distinctly, that Israel shall be restored to the sovereignty and dominion, which her rebellion and infidelity have so long forfeited;—that the despised and rejected JESUS shall at length be recognized by her as her rightful sovereign, “and the Lord God shall give unto Him the throne of His father David; and He shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever, and of His kingdom there shall be no end^c.”

This view of the prophecy may also perhaps throw light upon an obscure expression in the explanation given by Daniel of the fifth kingdom, in the vision of the image. “In the days of these kings,” he says, “shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed, and the kingdom shall not be left to other people^f;” that is to say it shall not be left to Gentiles, as it has been hitherto, and especially since the children of the kingdom were cast out^g, but “the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High.”

7. We see also that this restoration of the kingdom to Israel, (the time and the season of which, as we know, “the Father hath put in his own power^h,”) is foretold as an event which is to succeed “a time of

^c Luke i. 32, 33.

^f Dan. ii. 44.

^g Matt. viii. 12.

^h Acts, i. 6, 7.

trouble, such as never was since there was a nation, even to that same time;" and it would be easy to show that other prophecies in which the events of the same period are described, predict in like manner the overthrow of a mighty confederation of Gentile nations, formed against Israel, immediately after the re-establishment of the nation in the promised land, but before the final restoration of the kingdom. Let me remind you briefly of one or two of the prophecies to which I allude; "Behold," says Zechariah, "the day of the Lord cometh, and thy spoil shall be divided in the midst of thee. For I will gather all nations against Jerusalem to battle; and the city shall be taken, and the houses rifled, and the women ravished; and half of the city shall go forth into captivity, and the residue of the people shall not be cut off from the city. Then shall the Lord go forth, and fight against those nations, as when he fought in the day of battle. And his feet shall stand in that day upon the Mount of Olives, which is before Jerusalem on the east, and the Mount of Olives shall cleave in the midst thereof toward the east and toward the west, and there shall be a very great valley; and half of the mountain shall remove toward the north, and half of it toward the south.And it shall be in that day, that living waters shall go out from Jerusalem; half of them toward the former sea, and half of them toward the hinder sea: in summer and in winter shall it be. And the Lord shall be king over all the earth: in that day shall

there be one Lord, and his name one¹". Here we have the gathering of the nations against Jerusalem, and their temporary success, their ultimate overthrow by the interference of the Almighty, and the restoration of the city, with its establishment as the centre of true religion to the whole earth; for we read, "And it shall come to pass, that every one that is left of all the nations which came against Jerusalem, shall even go up from year to year to worship the King, the Lord of hosts, and to keep the feast of tabernacles. And it shall be, that whoso will not come up of all the families of the earth unto Jerusalem to worship the King, the Lord of hosts, even upon them shall be no rain¹." From this it is clear that a restoration of the Jewish polity and kingdom is predicted in these evidently parallel prophecies, and that the Lord of hosts, the Messiah, so long rejected, shall at length be acknowledged as the rightful heir of David's throne, and shall reign over His people for ever; as it is written, "And thou, O tower of the flock, the strong-hold of the daughter of Zion, unto thee shall it come, even the first dominion; the kingdom shall come to the daughter of Jerusalem. Now, why dost thou cry out aloud? Is there no

¹ Zech. xiv. 1—9. The "former sea" and the "hinder sea," mentioned in this passage, are probably identical with the seas, mentioned Dan. xi. 45, between which the infidel king shall plant the tabernacles of his palaces. "Maria autem

duo" says Grotius, "sunt ea inter quæ sita est Judæa, mare Syriacum et Asphaltites, quod *mare mortuum* aliis dicitur, qui duo sunt Judææ termini." Comm. in loc. (ap. Crit. Sacr.)

¹ Ver. 16, 17.

king in thee? Is thy counsellor perished? For pangs have taken thee as a woman in travail. Be in pain, and labour to bring forth, O daughter of Zion, like a woman in travail; for now shalt thou go forth out of the city, and thou shalt dwell in the field, and thou shalt go even to Babylon; there shalt thou be delivered; there the Lord shall redeem thee from the hand of thine enemies. Now, also many nations are gathered against thee, that say, let her be defiled, and let our eye look upon Zion. But they know not the thoughts of the Lord, neither understand they His counsel: for He shall gather them as the sheaves in the floor. Arise and thresh, O daughter of Zion: for I will make thine horn iron, and I will make thy hoofs brass: and thou shalt beat in pieces many people: and I will consecrate their gain unto the Lord, and their substance unto the Lord of the whole earth^k."

But it would carry me too far from my more immediate subject were I to indulge any farther in quotations from the abundant materials which parallel prophecies supply^l; it must suffice to remark, that the

^k Mic. iv. 8—13.

^l Bishop Newton has noticed an apparent parallelism between the king of the north in Daniel, and the king described by Ezekiel (ch. xxxviii.) under the name of *Gog*. "The same times and the same events seem to be presignified in this prophecy, as in that of Ezekiel concerning *Gog of the land of Magog*. He likewise is a nor-

thern power. He is represented as of Scythian extraction, (xxxviii. 2, vide Bocharti Phaleg. l. 3, c. 13, col. 117, &c.) 'He cometh from his place out of the north parts.' (ver. 15.) His army too is described as consisting chiefly of 'horses and horsemen.' (ver. 4.) He likewise hath 'Ethiopia and Libya with him.' (ver. 5.) 'He shall come up against the peo-

fate of the Jewish people in the latter days, their persecution under the ruthless sway of Antichrist, their ultimate deliverance, and the establishment of the everlasting kingdom of Messiah, are the events foretold in the important series of predictions to which I have been endeavouring to direct your attention.

8. One topic more must be briefly noticed ; namely, the period fixed in the prophecy for “the end of these wonders.”

When I last addressed you I made some remarks on this part of the prediction, and I professed myself unable to throw much light upon the difficulties in which it is involved ^m. I shall therefore content my-

ple of Israel in the latter days’ (ver. 16,) after their return from captivity (ver. 8). He too shall encamp ‘upon the mountains of Israel’ (xxxix. 2). He shall also ‘fall upon the mountains of Israel, and all the people that is with him’ (ver. 4). There the divine judgments shall overtake him, (xxxviii. 22, 23,) and God shall be ‘magnified and sanctified in the eyes of many nations.’” (Dissert. xvii.) It will be seen however, that the bishop here supposes the pronouns in Dan. xi. 44, 45, to refer to the king of the north ; a supposition which is by no means necessary to the parallelism of the two prophecies, and which moreover is wholly irreconcilable with his own exposition of Daniel’s prediction ; for he allows ver. 44, 45, to be

yet future, while he supposes ver. 40—43, to have been fulfilled by the Turkish empire. I am disposed to believe, therefore, that ver. 41 describes the conflict of the infidel king, or Antichrist, with the king of the north, and the total overthrow of the latter, as well as of the nations confederated with him, in “the glorious land.” But we learn from Rev. xx. 8, that the invasion of Gog shall not take place until after the millennium, and therefore not until after the destruction of Antichrist ; a circumstance which leads me to doubt the identity of Daniel’s “king of the north” with the “Gog” of Ezekiel, notwithstanding the many points of seeming coincidence pointed out by Bishop Newton.

^m Lect. III. p. 116.

self now with a mere statement of the facts which are revealed.

We are told that Daniel, after the close of the prophecy, beheld two angels, in addition to "the man clothed in linen" who had first appeared to him^a, standing, "the one on this side of the bank of the river, and the other on that side of the bank of the river^c."

And one of these angels "said to the man clothed in linen, which was upon the waters of the river, How long shall it be to the end of these wonders?"

The man clothed in linen was then seen to lift up his hands to heaven, and he "swore by Him that liveth for ever and ever, that it shall be for a time, times, and an half; and when he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these things shall be finished^p."

It does not appear very clearly whether this period of "a time, times, and an half," is intended to include the whole vision, or only a part of it; but from the mention of the same period in a former prophecy, as well as from the concluding words of the passage just quoted, we may perhaps infer, that it will comprehend only the season during which the saints shall be delivered into the hands of Antichrist, and in which he shall have accomplished "to scatter the power of the holy people."

Immediately after, however, two other periods are mentioned; one of two thousand two hundred and

^a Dan. x. 5.

^c Dan. xii. 5.

^p Ib. ver. 6, 7.

ninety days, which, we are expressly told, shall begin “from the time that the daily sacrifice shall be taken away, and the abomination of desolation set up.” The other of a thousand three hundred and thirty-five days, with whose termination a blessing is connected; “Blessed is he that waiteth, and cometh to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days;” and it is probable that this last period shall be immediately followed by the resurrection of the just, for the angel adds, “But go thy way, till the end be; for thou shalt rest, and stand in thy lot, at the end of the days ^a.”

III. It remains now, in pursuance of the plan that I have laid down, to make some general remarks on the principles adopted by commentators in the interpretation of the prophecy from which our text is taken.

1. In the first place then, I must observe, that I cannot help feeling great doubts of the truth of the opinion, so very generally received, that this prophecy, or any part of it, has been fulfilled in the history of Alexander of Macedon, and his successors.

I need not repeat what I have said on a former occasion, on the express declaration of the angel, that the whole prophecy,—(for there is no reason to suppose any part of it to be excepted),—relates to what shall befall the people of Daniel, “in the latter days ^r.” What I have now to notice is, the unsatisfactory evi-

^a Dan. xii. ver. 11—13, see p. 117, supr. and note ^a.

^r Dan. x. 14. Comp. viii. 17, see p. 127.

dence adduced in support of the common exposition, and the untenable principles of interpretation which it assumes.

The prophecy first announces the rise of four kings in Persia, the last of whom shall be remarkable for wealth, and "by his strength through his riches, he shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia." Of the success of his efforts we are not informed, but the prophecy immediately goes on to tell us, "And a mighty king shall stand up, that shall rule with great dominion, and do according to his will. And when he shall stand up, his kingdom shall be broken, and shall be divided toward the four winds of heaven *."

This part of the prophecy is usually explained of the successors of Cyrus, from Cambyzes to Xerxes, and of Alexander the Great. It should be observed, however, that "the mighty king" is not said to be a Grecian potentate; for aught that appears to the contrary he may be a fifth king of Persia, and the opinion, which seeks to identify him with Alexander, rests altogether on the supposed analogy between this prophecy and the vision of the ram and goat, where the power, symbolized by the great horn of the goat, is expressly said to be the first king of Grecia.

Without insisting upon this, however, I would remark, that the application of the prophecy to the four immediate successors of Cyrus on the throne of Persia, and to the history of Alexander and his successors, notwithstanding the many seeming coinci-

* Dan. xi. 2—4.

dences which have doubtless been the cause of misleading commentators, is highly unsatisfactory, and perplexing.

In the first place, the unbiassed reader would naturally infer from the words of the prophecy, if we are to date its commencement from the period at which it was delivered, that between Cyrus and the "mighty king," who is supposed to be Alexander the Great, four kings only were to sit upon the Persian throne. Yet, the murder of Xerxes, the fourth of the successors of Cyrus, took place more than a century before the accession of Alexander to the throne of Macedon; and in this interval there reigned in Persia no less than nine sovereigns, the last of whom, one hundred and thirty-four years after the death of Xerxes, was conquered by Alexander¹.

¹ The murder of Xerxes is generally assigned to the year B. C. 465, and the accession of Alexander, on the death of his father Philip, was in the year B. C. 336. The following list of the kings of Persia who reigned in this interval is taken from Clinton's *Fasti Hellenici*, vol. ii. Append. p. 312, 2nd Edit.

B.C. 465. Artabanus, reigned 7 months.

Artaxerxes Longimanus, 40 years.

425. Xerxes II., 2 months.

Sogdianus, 7 months.

424. Darius Nothus, 19 years.

405. Artaxerxes Mnemon.

359. Ochus.

B.C. 338. Arses, 2 years.

336. Darius Codomanus, 4 years, 11 months; conquered by Alexander B.C. 331.

St. Jerome gives an awkward reason for the omission of these nine kings in the prophecy, "Et notandum," he says, "quod, quattuor post Cyrum regibus Persarum enumeratis, novem præterierit, et transierit ad Alexandrum. Non enim curæ fuit Spiritui prophetali historiæ ordinem sequi, sed præclara quæque perstringere." (Comm. in Dan. xi. 2.) This, however, is a most dangerous rule to lay down in the interpretation of prophecy; nor would it be easy, on such

I would add also, that the assertions of commentators respecting the division of Alexander's empire into four kingdoms, "towards the four winds of heaven," are by no means borne out by history.—When I alluded to this subject on a former occasion I showed you, that commentators, whose peculiar system required them to assert that Alexander's dominions were divided after his death among *ten* kings, found no difficulty in discovering ten, and they might in the same way as easily have discovered more than ten kingdoms, among the numerous petty sovereignties that sprang up from time to time amid the wars and dissensions of his successors.

The ancient commentators, with whom this application of the prophecy originated, appear to have considered the first division of the dominions of Alexander, which took place immediately after his death, as equivalent to a fourfold partition of the empire; but they make no attempt to reconcile this opinion with the statements of the historians, who enumerate ten, twelve, and some, including the Indian provinces, upwards of twenty satrapies. Hence, the moderns have very generally fixed upon a different era"; they tell us that the four kingdoms did not

a principle, to explain why Cambyzes, Smerdis, and Darius were mentioned rather than some of those who are admitted to have been left out.

"The earliest writer, so far as I know, who has attempted to point out four kingdoms in the divisions of Alexander's

empire, is St. Jerome. The author of the first book of Maccabees mentions the division of Alexander's kingdom, but it is evident that the opinion of its being divided into *four* was not known to him; his words are, "And after these things he [Alexander] fell

appear until about twenty years after the death of Alexander, when the battle of Ipsus destroyed the

sick, and perceived that he should die. Wherefore he called his servants, such as were honourable, and had been brought up with him from his youth, and parted his kingdom among them while he was yet alive. So Alexander reigned twelve years, and then died. And his servants bare rule every one in his place. And after his death they all put crowns upon themselves, so did their sons after them many years; and evils were multiplied in the earth." (1 Macc. i. 5—9.) Josephus mentions five kings by name, but, at the same time, intimates that there were many more. Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν οὖν ὁ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς, καταλύσας τὴν Περσῶν ἡγεμονίαν, καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν τὸν προεξημένον καταστῆσάμενος τρόπον, τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον· μεταπισούσης δὲ εἰς πολλοὺς τῆς ἀρχῆς, Ἀντίγονος μὲν τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπικρατεῖ, Σέλευκος δὲ Βαβυλῶνος καὶ τῶν ἐκεί ἐθνῶν, Λυσίμαχος δὲ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον διῷπει, τὴν δὲ Μακεδονίαν εἶχε Κάσσανδρος, Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ Λάγου τὴν Ἀίγυπτον εἰλήφει. (Antiquitt. lib. xiii. 1.) But St. Jerome asserts expressly that four of Alexander's generals were typified by the four heads of the leopard, Dan. vii. 6. "Quattuor autem capita eosdem dicit duces ejus, qui postea successores regni extiterunt, Ptolomæum, Seleucum, Philippum, Antigonom." (Comm. in loc. et in viii. 8, xi. 4.)

And after Jerome, Theodoret gives the same exposition: Διὰ δὲ τῶν τισσάρων κεφαλῶν τὴν μετὰ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον γινομένην ἡνέχαστο τῆς ἡγεμονίας διαίρεσιν· τισσάρεις γὰρ ἀνθ' ἐνὸς κατέστησαν βασιλεῖς· καὶ Πτολεμαῖος μὲν ὁ Λάγου τοῦ κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἐνεχειρίσθη τοὺς ὠκεαί, Σέλευκος δὲ τῶν πρὸς ἐν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἰδύνειν ἐπιστεύθη· Ἀντίγονος δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐκράτησε· τῆς δὲ Μακεδονίας, ὥς μὲν τινες φασίν, Ἀντίπατρος, ὡς δὲ ἕτεροι, Φίλιππος ὁ καὶ Ἀριδαῖος, αὐτοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀδελφός. (Comm. in Dan. vii. 6.) This interpretation however, supposes the prophecy to have been fulfilled by the first division of the kingdom made after the death of Alexander, before his servants "put crowns upon themselves," and therefore, also before the victory of the four confederated chieftains at Ipsus. But more modern authors, while they perceived that this was altogether at variance with the history, could not bring themselves to abandon the fourfold division. They have therefore fixed upon other periods in which they conceive the empire of Alexander to have been, for a time at least, divided into four; and the battle of Ipsus has been pointed out by Sir Isaac Newton, and others, as the most plausible pretext for giving this colouring to the history. Grotius, however, adheres to the period immediately succeeding

Asiatic monarchy of Antigonos, and enabled the four confederated victors to divide the empire amongst them. But this statement of the facts omits altogether the Indian provinces, which, though a part of Alexander's dominions, were not included in the supposed four kingdoms; it omits also all consideration of the Grecian states, that were at this time independent; and, what is perhaps even more important, it takes no notice whatsoever of the power of Demetrius, who still retained no inconsiderable empire in Cilicia, and two years after the battle in which his father perished, possessed himself of Athens, and ultimately of Macedon.

It appears, therefore, that the statement usually made of the fourfold division of Alexander's dominions must be understood with some latitude, as asserting not that four kingdoms, and four only, stood up out of the nation, but that the four kingdoms now

the death of Alexander, but selects, rather arbitrarily, four captains, not the same that were mentioned by St. Jerome; his words are, (Comm. in Dan. vii. 6, ap. Crit. Sac.) "Hi sunt quatuor summi post Alexandrum duces, Perdicca, Seleucus, Ptolemæus, Meleager; quorum Perdicca equitatus Macedonico, externo Seleucus, Meleager Satellitio regio, Ptolemæus peditatus præerant."

These interpretations, however, are alike irreconcilable with the history: and hence Junius (quoted by Poole, Synopsis Crit. in Dan. vii. 6,) has proposed another theory;

"Per quatuor capita significat, tantam fuisse animantis istius in rebus gerendis alacritatem, ut eodem tempore in omnes orbis partes regno suo consuluerit, haud secus quam si quatuor capitibus fuisset instructus, quibus quaquaversum prospiceret. Scio hæc aliter exponi, de quatuor regnis post Alexandrum. Sed neque verbis hujus loci, neque sequentium prophetiarum argumento, neque historiis rerumque veritati, explicatio hæc mihi videtur convenire."

generally enumerated by modern expositors, were, if not the only, at least the most eminent subdivisions of the original empire^v. But even with this modification of the statement it must be admitted, that within a period of twenty years after the defeat of Antigonus, the very semblance of a fourfold empire was at an end; and it is surely difficult to conceive that an event so obscure, and which, after the utmost concessions that commentators can desire, was of such short duration, can have been the fulfilment of a characteristic so prominently marked in three successive prophecies^w.

^v So the assertion of the prophecy is interpreted by some commentators: Sir Isaac Newton says, "Thus the monarchy of the Greeks, for want of an heir was broken into several kingdoms; four of which, seated to the four winds of heaven, were very eminent." *Observ. on Daniel*, p. 172, 8vo., *Dubl.*, 1733. And Clarius (in *Dan.* xi. 4, ap. *Crit. Sacr.*) says: "In quatuor præcipua regna: quamvis pluribus etiam aliis distributæ sint provinciæ primum. Et vivo quidem adhuc Aridæo fratre Alexandri et Hercule filio, cæteri Regio nomine abstinerunt, mansitque Aridæo per septem annos; potestas tamen omnis apud alios erat."

^w From the following summary, the reader will be able to judge how entirely the hypothesis of a fourfold division is at variance with the history.

B. C. 323. On the death of

Alexander it was agreed among the generals, that Philip Arrhidæus, his bastard brother, and Alexander, his son by Roxana, should be nominally kings; but that Perdiccas should be administrator of the whole kingdom; Antipater prefect of Macedon and Greece; Lysimachus of Thrace and the neighbourhood of Pontus; Eumenes of Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, and the adjoining nations; Antigonus of Pamphylia, Lycia, and Phrygia major; Cassander of Caria; Laomedon of Syria and Phœnicia; and Ptolemy of Egypt.

B. C. 321. Perdiccas having been assassinated, Antipater became administrator of the kingdom, under the nominal sway of Philip and Alexander; but no other change was made in the subordinate satrapies, except that Seleucus Nicator was appointed over Babylonia, Nicanor substituted for

2. But let us admit, for the sake of argument, that the fourfold division of the kingdom, as it is com-

Eumenes over Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, and Antigonus appointed to conduct the war with Eumenes, under the title of *στρατηγός*, and *ἐπίσκοπος τῆς ὅλης Ἀσίας*.

B. C. 318. On the death of Antipater, Polysperchon was made administrator of the kingdom.

B. C. 317. Philip Arrhidæus murdered, and Alexander Ægus sole king.

B. C. 315. Death of Eumenes; Ptolemy, Seleucus, Lysimachus, and Cassander league against Antigonus, and his son Demetrius; and a four years' war ensues.

B. C. 312. Demetrius defeated at Gaza by Ptolemy and Seleucus, and a peace agreed to on the following conditions: that Cassander should govern in Macedon and Greece, until Alexander Ægus should be of age; Lysimachus in Thrace; Ptolemy in Egypt, Libya, and Arabia; Antigonus in Asia; and Seleucus in Babylonia. Many of the Grecian states were at this time independent.

B. C. 306. After the murder of Alexander and the defeat of Ptolemy by Demetrius at sea, Antigonus and Demetrius take the title of king; and their example is imitated by Lysimachus, Ptolemy, Seleucus, and Cassander.

B. C. 301. The battle of Ipsus. Antigonus slain, and his

dominions divided between Lysimachus and Seleucus.

B. C. 299. Demetrius occupies Cilicia; takes Athens. Marriage of his daughter with Seleucus.

B. C. 296. Death of Cassander.

B. C. 294. Demetrius removes the sons of Cassander, and reigns in Macedon.

B. C. 287. Demetrius driven by Pyrrhus out of Macedon.

B. C. 286. Pyrrhus driven from Macedon by Lysimachus.

B. C. 283. Death of Demetrius, and of Ptolemy Soter.

B. C. 281. Lysimachus defeated and slain by Seleucus.

B. C. 280. Seleucus murdered by Ptolemy Ceraunus, who is slain by the Gauls, nine months after.

From this brief outline of the events, the reader will be able to form some estimate of the great violence that is done to the history, when we are told that Alexander's empire was divided into four. Some further remarks on this subject, with extracts too long to be here inserted, will be found in the notes at the end of this volume. In the mean time I shall only say that the discrepancies and deficiencies of the original historians have made it less difficult for commentators to shape the history to their peculiar interpretations of the prophecy. This Bishop Newton

monly described, was a legitimate fulfilment of the prediction; and we shall find that even this great concession will be insufficient for the purposes of commentators, and that very serious liberties must still be taken with the sacred text in order to make out the interpretation for which they contend.

In the first place, they assume the privilege of supposing *kings* in the prophecy to mean kingdoms or dynasties; yet they are here less consistent in the adoption of this principle than on some former occasions, where we have noticed it. For the kings of Persia, in the first part of the prophecy, are, I believe, very generally understood as literal kings, and Cambyzes, Smerdis, Darius, and Xerxes are named as the individuals foretold^{*}; but in the remainder of the chapter the word *king* is supposed to signify sometimes an individual, as with those who conceive a portion of this prophecy to have been fulfilled in Antiochus Epiphanes, sometimes a long succession of kings,

unwittingly confesses, with amusing simplicity. "There is not," he says, "so complete and regular a series of their kings, there is not so concise and comprehensive an account of their affairs, to be found in any author of those times. The prophecy is really more perfect than any history. No one historian hath related so many circumstances, and in such exact order, as the prophet hath foretold them: so that it was necessary to have recourse to several authors, Greek and Roman, Jewish and

Christian; and to collect here something from one, and to collect there something from another, for the better explaining and illustrating the great variety of particulars contained in this prophecy." Dissert. xvi. In this way the prophecy has been used to give a colour to the history, and the history is then employed as an evidence for the interpretation given to the prophecy.

^{*} See Mr. Faber's Sacred Calendar of Prophecy, vol. ii. p. 189.

and even an infidel democracy, such as that which influenced, in the last century, the government of France.

Commentators consider themselves at liberty also to assume, that by the king of the north is intended not any particular individual, but any one or more of the kings of Syria; and that by the king of the south, in like manner, may be meant any one or more of the kings of Egypt. This has been forced upon them by the necessity they have created for themselves of discovering in the history of Alexander's successors the fulfilment of this prophecy; and the convenience of such a principle of interpretation must be obvious; for by means of it, any of the kings of Egypt, from Ptolemy to Cleopatra, and any of the kings of Syria, from Seleucus to Pompey, who can be found to have performed actions at all resembling any part of the prediction, may be set down as having so far accomplished it. But I cannot persuade myself to believe that so great a license as this is warranted by the words of Scripture; on the contrary, I think it must be manifest to every unbiassed reader, that the same individual king of the north, and the same individual king of the south, are spoken of throughout the prophecy.

3. This leads me to notice another inconsistency in the common expositions. When the prophecy tells us that the kingdom shall be divided into four, "towards the four winds of heaven," and then goes on to speak of the king of the north, and the king of the south, we would certainly at first sight conclude,

that as the four winds of heaven must signify the north, south, east, and west, so the king of the north must mean the king of the northern division of the kingdom, and the king of the south, the king of the southern division.

But when we consult the commentators, we find that this is not the view they have taken of the subject; they acknowledge, it is true, that a division "towards the four winds of heaven," must mean a division into north and south, east and west; and accordingly they tell us that "Cassander reigned in Greece and *the west*, Lysimachus in Thrace and *the north*, Ptolemy in Egypt and *the south*, and Seleucus in Syria and *the east*;" they admit also that "the king of the south" in the prophecy denotes the king of Egypt, or of the southern division; but they maintain that by "the king of the north" the prophet meant, not the king of Thrace, the northern section of the empire, but the king of the eastern section, or Syria.

The only reason they give for this inconsistency is, that "in geographical reference to the land of Palestine, Egypt is throughout denominated *the kingdom of the south*, while Syria bears the appellation of *the kingdom of the north*." But if this were so, then, one would think, Palestine should have been made the centre from which "the four winds of heaven" were also estimated as north, south, east, and west; and therefore that the fourfold division of

^y Newton on the Prophecies.
Diss. xvi. Faber, Sacred Calendar, vol. ii. p. 191.

^z Faber, Sacred Calendar, vol. ii. p. 192.

Alexander's kingdom, as it is stated by these very commentators, did not after all fulfil, so exactly as they pretend, this remarkable particular of the prediction.

4. Again, I have said, that a reader who had no theory to support, would naturally conclude that the kings of the north and south, who are mentioned at the beginning of the prophecy, must, at all events, whether literal kings be intended or no, be the same kings of the north and the south, who are spoken of towards the close of the chapter. But this principle of interpretation has not been adopted by commentators.

We have seen that by the kings of the north and south, at the beginning of the prophecy, the common interpretations suppose the successors of Alexander's generals in the kingdoms of Syria and Egypt, to be foretold. But at the end of the prophecy, where we read that "at the time of the end the king of the south shall push at him, (i. e. at the wilful king,) and the king of the north shall come against him^a," two very different powers, at an interval from the former of many centuries, are generally believed to be intended. Mr. Mede, and after him Bishop Newton, interpret "the king of the south," in this part of the prophecy, of the Arabians, or Saracens, under the conduct of their false prophet Mohammed and his successors, and "the king of the north" of the Turks; and the bishop apologizes in the following

^a Dan. xi. 40.

words for the inconsistency of this interpretation :
 “ The kings of the *south* and *north* are to be taken and explained according to the times of which the prophet is speaking. As long as the kingdoms of Egypt and Syria were subsisting, so long the Egyptian and Syrian kings were the kings of the south and the north ; but when these kingdoms were swallowed up in the Roman empire, then other powers became the kings of the south and the north^b. ”

^b The whole passage is as follows : “ The kings of the *south* and *north* are to be taken and explained according to the times, of which the prophet is speaking. As long as the kingdoms of Egypt and Syria were subsisting, so long the Egyptian and Syrian kings were the kings of the south and the north : but when these kingdoms were swallowed up in the Roman empire, then other powers became the kings of the south and the north. ‘ And at the time of the end, (that is, as Mr. Mede [Works b. 3, p. 674, and b. 4, p. 816] rightly expounds it, *in the latter days of the Roman empire*) shall the king of the south push at him,’ that is the Saracens, who were of the Arabians, and came from the south ; and under the conduct of their false prophet Mohammed and his successors, made war upon the emperor Heraclius, and with amazing rapidity deprived him of Egypt, Syria, and many of his finest provinces. They were only to *push*

at, and sorely wound the Greek empire, but they were not to subvert and destroy it. ‘ And the king of the north shall come against him, &c.,’ that is, the Turks, who were originally of the Scythians, and came from the north ; and after the Saracens seized on Syria, and assaulted with great violence the remains of the Greek empire, and in time rendered themselves absolute masters of the whole.” Dissert. xvii. p. 309. Mr. Faber however, does not admit the principle of interpretation here adopted by the bishop ; he conceives the same powers, at least as to geographical position, to be intended throughout, by the kings of the north and south ; but as he does not suppose the latter part of the prophecy to be fulfilled, he finds no difficulty in acknowledging that the future kings of the north and south will be sovereigns of Syria and Egypt. His words are. “ It appears, that, in the course of the short period denominated *the time of the*

What is this but a plain acknowledgment that the kings of Syria and Egypt cannot be adduced as having fulfilled the latter part of the prediction, and that those commentators who suppose it to have been fulfilled, are compelled to seek elsewhere for its accomplishment.

5. Again, I conceive that great violence is done to the latter part of the prophecy, by the various theories which suppose it to be a chronological prediction of the Roman power, including the progress and corruption of the Christian faith, the religious extravagancies and political usurpations of the Papal court, and the infidel democracy of modern times^c. These

end, the Roman empire, under its seventh head now healed of the deadly wound which it had received from the sword of foreign violence, will undertake some extraordinary expedition into Palestine. In this undertaking, it will be opposed by the kings of the south and the north, or by the then existing sovereigns of Egypt and Syria: and after experiencing the several vicissitudes detailed with great minuteness in the prophecy, it will at length be irretrievably broken, in power and subsistence, between those two seas of Palestine, which Jerome, and the early fathers, rightly and reasonably pronounce to be the dead sea on the east, and the mediterranean sea on the west." *Sacred Calendar*, vol. ii. p. 271.

^c As a specimen of these theories we may take Mr. Fa-

ber's system, one of the most recent and elaborate attempts to interpret this prophecy on the principles against which I am contending. He conceives the prophecy to begin by predicting the four immediate successors of Cyrus, ver. 2, 3. Then, passing over upwards of a century, to predict certain facts in the history of Alexander and his successors, ver. 4—20; and in particular the history of Antiochus Epiphanes, ver. 21—29. The rest of the prophecy he supposes to be occupied with the history of the Roman empire from the times of Antiochus to the end of the world. His division of this part of the prediction is as follows:—

I. From Antiochus to the destruction of the Temple under Titus; ver. 30, 31.

II. The history subsequent

interpretations all have their origin, more or less, in the prejudice, which gives to the events of which we have ourselves been eye-witnesses, an unnatural importance, and leads us to expect that they must have been foretold; hence, it has been assumed as an axiom not to be disputed, that the history of past and present times is the subject of the prediction, and the only question with which commentators concern themselves is how best to discover in the prophecy events which they have previously determined shall be found there.

In the present instance, this mode of interpretation misrepresents, I conceive, altogether, the real character of the prophecy before us; which is not an obscure and enigmatical description, conveyed in language so concise and mystical as to render it almost impossible, even after its fulfilment, to prove to the satisfaction of an inquirer, that it has ever been fulfilled at all; but a prediction, delivered in terms so plain and unsymbolical, that it is hard to imagine how the prophet could have found any difficulty in understanding them. And in fact he tells us expressly^d, that he

to the destruction of Jerusalem; divided into five periods: viz.

1. Persecution of the Christian Church, A.D. 70, to A.D. 313; ver. 32, 33.

2. Establishment of Christianity, A.D. 313, to A.D. 604; ver. 34.

3. Corruption and Reformation of Christianity, including "the persecutions which the Church suffered from Popery," A.D. 604, to A.D. 1697; ver. 35.

4. "The systematic diffusion of the infidel spirit of the Antichrist throughout the Roman empire," A.D. 1697, to A.D. 1864; ver. 36—39.

5. "The final expedition and ruin of the wilful king," A.D. 1864, to A.D. 1865; ver. 40—45. Sacred Calendar of Prophecy, vol. ii. p. 183, et seq. and Table of Contents, p. ix.

^d Dan. x. 1.

“understood the thing, and had understanding of the vision^c,” nor, I think, can this circumstance, contrasted with the difficulty that he describes himself to have found in former revelations^f, be sufficiently accounted for by the common modern interpretations. For surely, unless the prophet had received a subsequent revelation, of which we have no account, wherein the real signification of the terms of this prediction was made known to him^g, he would have found at least as much difficulty in discovering the signification which modern expositors have imposed upon them, as he had formerly experienced in interpreting the symbols and images under which the same events had been before depicted; nay, the absence of symbol in the prophecy would undoubtedly have increased his difficulty, if terms which must have appeared plain and literal, were in reality deeply mystical and figurative.

For example, I conceive, that no unprejudiced reader would conclude that the wars described in the prophecy were to extend beyond a period which

^c The latter clause may be literally rendered, “And understanding was to him in the vision.” The Vulgate translates it, “Intelligentia enim est opus in visione.” Theodotion’s version is, *Kai σύνεισις ἰδόθη αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ ὁρασίᾳ*. And the LXX. *Kai διανοήθη αὐτὸ ἐν ὁράματι*.

^f Dan. viii. 27.

^g These considerations will have the more force, if the conjecture I have already hazarded

(see page 139) be well founded, viz. that the prophecy contained in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth chapters is an interpretation of the symbolical vision in the eighth chapter. It is hard to conceive, without some better proof than commentators have in this case given, that the interpretation of symbols should be no less symbolical than the symbols themselves.

might be the natural lives of individuals, or that "the vile person" who "shall come in peaceably and obtain the kingdom by flatteries^b," was not the same who is afterwards spoken of as the king who "shall do according to his will, and exalt himself and magnify himself above every god^c." Yet the common interpretations make these personages entirely different, and separated by many centuries, while to the latter, although he is so emphatically called "*the king*," they do not so much as allow the attribute of personality; some, with Mede and Bishop Newton, maintaining that the king who magnifies himself above every god is the papal system; and others, with Mr. Faber and Bishop Horsley, that he is the symbol of a power, already indeed in existence, although as yet but imperfectly developed, whose characteristics will be blasphemy, atheism, and tyrannical persecution of the Christian name^d.

^b Dan. xi. 21.

^c Ver. 36.

^d "The donation of the name of Antichrist to the Pope," says Mr. Faber, (*Sacred Calendar*, vol. ii. p. 209,) "is purely gratuitous. It rests upon no certain warrant of Scripture: and indeed may rather be said to contradict it. The predicted Antichrist is an infidel and an atheist. Under this precise and definite aspect, he is represented both by Daniel and by St. John. Whatever, therefore, may have been the delinquencies of the Papacy, the character of the Antichrist, at

all events, belongs not to it. In pronouncing that the Antichrist would be an avowed atheist, who would stand up against Christ, and who would labour to take away the name and adoration of the true God, Cornelius a Lapide judged well and scripturally." [Mr. Faber speaks as if this opinion were peculiar to, and originally suggested by Cornelius a Lapide; but he could hardly have been ignorant that it was the unanimous opinion of every Christian writer up to the period of the Reformation.] "His error was that of the early fathers;

In opposition to these various theories, I would adhere to the literal and obvious meaning of the prediction ; I believe that individual kings are undoubtedly intended ; that the same individual kings are spoken of throughout the prophecy ; and that the division of the kingdom "towards the four winds of heaven," the long continued contest between the kings of the north and south, and the power of the infidel or wilful king, are all as yet to come.

On the whole, therefore, the conclusion which I am especially anxious to impress upon you, is, that the prophecies we have been considering all relate to events yet future, and consequently that no

who, in direct violation of the general analogy of the prophecies of Daniel and John, fancied, that the Antichrist would be a single individual, destined, towards the end of the world, to seize upon the Roman empire. But the Antichrist is no mere individual. On the contrary, he is a well defined political power or empire, readily ascertained from the context and tenor of the prophecy now before us : while his spirit, to adopt the phraseology of the Apostle, is the leading spirit or principle, the spirit namely of infidelity, which actuates and characterises his members ; *I fear*, said a late eminent prelate of the English Church, in reference to this extraordinary prediction of Daniel : *I fear, I too strongly see the rise, instead of the fall, of the Antichrist*

of the west : who shall be neither a Protestant nor a Papist ; who shall be neither Christian, nor Jew, nor Heathen ; who shall worship neither God, nor angel, nor saint ; who will neither supplicate the invisible Majesty of Heaven, nor fall down before an idol. [Bp. Horsley's letter on Isaiah xviii. p. 105, 106.]” Again Mr. Faber says, (p. 211,) “ the power, emphatically styled by the revealing angel **THAT KING**, must be viewed, as the Roman empire chronologically existing, from the year 1697, when the second woe terminated, down to the year 1864, when the time of the end commences.” For a further statement of Bp. Horsley's opinion, see the extracts already given in note ^a, page 130.

attempt to explain them on the supposition that they have been long ago fulfilled, can be successful, or satisfactory. This is the real cause of the great discrepancies that exist in the various systems of interpretation hitherto proposed. This is the source of the uncertainty that has been unhappily thrown over the whole subject, and which deters so many from the study of prophecy, as if it were more likely to perplex and bewilder, than to instruct or to edify the Church. Let not the Christian, however, be disturbed by these difficulties; for if it be the case, that commentators have been labouring to find in past events the accomplishment of a series of predictions as yet unfulfilled, we can easily account for these discrepancies, great and serious as they are. If it be the case, that the prophecies have been employed as weapons of theological warfare, and that opposing sects have laboured to fasten on their adversaries the awful name and character of Antichrist; if, for this purpose lax principles of interpretation have been adopted, and the sacred words of holy writ explained away, or compelled to yield to preconceived hypotheses; then, assuredly, the inconsistencies and contradictions which are to be found in the popular interpretations of these prophecies, are only the natural results of an error common to all such opposing systems, the error, namely, that the prophecies have been, or are now in course of being accomplished, and that we have only to determine in what past or passing events their fulfilment can best be found.

From this fundamental mistake, have resulted several subordinate erroneous principles, some of which I have endeavoured, in the course of these Lectures, to refute. Commentators, for example, have been led to interpret of different events, prophecies which are manifestly identical; they have assumed the license of considering as symbolical, language which there is no ground whatsoever for interpreting otherwise than literally; and they have explained of systems, or bodies of men, or empires, language which nothing but the necessity of supporting a preconceived theory, could have induced them to construe otherwise than as descriptive of a person and an individual.

Let not the faithful, therefore, be troubled at the contradictions and discrepancies, which may be observed in the expositors of prophecy. Let them not stumble at the unnecessary difficulties thus thrown in the way, as if the word of God were uncertain, and the real meaning of the prophets incapable of being discovered; but let them rather conclude, that the great variety of expositions, and the acknowledged failure of the best expositors, argue the existence of some common error, some false or fallacious method of interpretation, followed by them all alike. What this common error is, I have already endeavoured to point out to you; and it will, I hope, be made still more manifest, when we have examined, as I shall proceed to do in my next lecture, the corresponding prophecies of the New Testament.

LECTURE V.

“ I grant they overthrew the very foundation of faith by consequent : doth not that so likewise which the Lutheran churches do at this day so stiffly and so firmly maintain ? For mine own part I dare not hereupon deny the possibility of their salvation, which have been the chiefest instruments of ours, albeit they carried to their grave a persuasion so greatly repugnant to the truth. Forasmuch therefore, as it may be said of the Church of Rome, she hath yet a little strength, she doth not directly deny the foundation of Christianity : I may, I trust without offence, persuade myself, that thousands of our fathers in former times, living and dying within her walls, have found mercy at the hands of God.”
Hooker, *Serm. of Justification*, sect. 17.

LECTURE V.

2 THESS. ii. 3, 4.

“Let no man deceive you by any means; for that day shall not come, except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition; who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he as God sitteth in the Temple of God, showing himself that he is God.”

HAVING now considered at some length the prophecies of Daniel, which relate to the latter times, and the revelation of Antichrist*, and having endeav-

* Upon one of Daniel's prophecies I have made no remarks in the preceding pages, although I am by no means sure that it does not relate to the latter times. I allude to the celebrated prophecy of the “seventy weeks,” (Dan. ix. 24—27,) and I think it right to mention here my reason for having omitted the consideration of it, lest it should be inferred from the passage to which this note is appended, that I am ready to exclude it from the list of prophecies which relate to the time of the

end. My reason for passing it over in silence was simply this: that I am not satisfied with any of the attempts that have been made to explain it, nor am I able to fix its chronological place, if I may so speak, in the great series of prophecy. There seem some grounds for thinking the latter part of it at least to be yet future, and I am not convinced that even the first portion of it has been rightly interpreted. I have seen no satisfactory explanation of the division of the seventy weeks into the four

voured to refute some of the erroneous principles that appear to have led to the opinion that these prophecies, or a large proportion of them, are already long ago fulfilled ; it remains to pursue the investigation, by comparing the corresponding predictions of the New Testament, with the conclusions to which our examination of the prophecies of Daniel has already conducted us.

I begin with the celebrated prophecy of St. Paul, from which my text is taken ; it embodies, as I hope to show you, the substance of what we have already learned from the book of Daniel, and evidently predicts the same events.

It shall be the object of the present discourse to establish this position ; for which purpose I shall first endeavour to discover the object and design of the prophecy, in its connexion with the Apostle's argument ; I shall then compare it with the prophecies

periods of seven weeks, sixty-two weeks, and two half weeks ; nor am I quite sure that commentators are justified in taking the word שבעים to mean weeks of *years*. The great differences among commentators as to the commencement and ending of the seventy weeks, seem hardly consistent with the supposition that the prophecy is fulfilled ; and the mention of the cessation of sacrifice and oblation, (ver. 27,) compared with Dan. viii. 11, xi. 31, would appear to connect the latter part of it at least with the times of Antichrist. I ought perhaps to confess also,

that I am not satisfied that our version rightly expresses the meaning of the words rendered "Messiah shall be cut off, but not for himself." Mr. Tyso, who contends that the prophecy has not been fulfilled, (*Elucidation of the Prophecies*, p. 26—46,) and the Rev. William Burgh, who considers the last week as still future, (*Lectures on the second Advent*, Lect. IV. p. 165, seq. 2nd. edition, Dublin, 1835,) have noticed several of the difficulties that press upon my own mind, and to which I confess myself unable to give a satisfactory solution.

of Daniel, with a view to point out the identity of the events foretold, and also to collect such additional particulars as it may be found to furnish ; and lastly, I shall make some remarks on the modern interpretations, that suppose it to have been already either in whole or in part fulfilled.

I. We are first to examine the context, in order to ascertain the true scope of the prediction, and its bearing upon the argument of the Apostle.

At the close of the first epistle to the Thessalonians, St. Paul had taken occasion to allude to the hope of the resurrection of the dead, in connexion with the promise of our Lord's second coming ; " I would not have you to be ignorant, brethren," he says, " concerning them which are asleep, that ye sorrow not, even as others which have no hope. For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus, will God bring with Him ^b."

^b 1 Thes. iv. 13, 14. Dr. Burton (Bampton Lectures, Note 48, p. 400,) takes 1 Thess. iv. 13, as implying that some among the Thessalonians " entertained no hope concerning those who were already dead." But this seems to do great violence to the passage ; the Apostle is arguing not against those who had no hope, but against those who *sorrowed as if* they had no hope. The error of the Thessalonians, so far as the resurrection of the dead was concerned, seems rather to have consisted in some opinion

that they who are found alive at our Lord's coming shall have some great and permanent advantage over those who shall have died before that event. This opinion St. Paul refutes in ver. 15, which Dr. Burton proposes to point thus, ὅτι ἡμῖς οἱ ζῶντες, οἱ περιλειπόμενοι, εἰς τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ Κυρίου οὐ μὴ φθάσωμεν τοὺς κοιμηθέντας. So that Dr. Burton's version will be, " that we which are alive and remain, shall not prevent unto the coming of the Lord them which are asleep," i. e. shall not enter into the pre-

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The doctrine, therefore, whose influence is to keep the faithful from sorrowing for their departed brethren, as others which have no hope, is this, that when the Lord shall appear again in the glory of the Father, they who are asleep in Christ shall be raised from the dead, and shall accompany him at his coming. "For this I say unto you," adds the Apostle, "by the word of the Lord, that we which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord, shall not prevent them which are asleep. For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God; and the dead in Christ shall rise first: then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air: and so shall we ever be with the Lord. Wherefore comfort one another with these words^c."

One of the most remarkable features of this passage is, that the Apostle has expressed himself as if he and they to whom he was writing were to be alive and to remain unto the coming of the Lord; a circumstance in which commentators have found great embarrassment, as if St. Paul had put forward some erroneous or fanatical expectation, that the end of all things was immediately to take place. Hence, to

sence of the Lord before them which are asleep. He says, "For this construction see Rom. ix. 31," and he adds, "I doubt whether *περιλειπόμενοι εἰς τὴν παρουσίαν* could mean *remaining until the coming*."

P. 401, note ^m. All the ancient versions, however, are against this view of the passage, and in favour of that given by our authorized translation.

^c Ib. ver. 15—18.

meet this difficulty, some suppose that the Apostle, though he used the first person, spoke not of himself, or of those whom he addressed, but of such as shall hereafter be found alive at the Lord's appearing; and others tell us that his language is to be taken, not in the literal significancy of the expressions, but as implying only the strong hold that the expectation of the coming of the Lord had taken of his imagination, and the full conviction with which he was impressed, of the certainty of the day of judgment ^d.

^d Thus Mr. Scott, in his commentary on the passage, says, "His faith and hope annihilated as it were the intervening space; his love made him consider the cause of the whole multitude as his own; and it is evident that he did not speak it personally of himself; for when the Thessalonians imagined that 'the day of judgment was at hand,' he diligently set himself to rectify that mistake." And Bishop Horsley, thus expounds the passage: "The Apostle to comfort the Thessalonian brethren concerning their deceased friends, reminds them of the resurrection; and tells them, that those who were already dead would as surely have their part in a happy immortality as the Christians that should be living at the time of our Lord's coming. Upon this occasion, his expressions, taken literally, would imply that he included himself, with many of those to whom these consolations were

addressed, in the number of those who should remain alive at the last day. This turn of the expression naturally arose from the strong hold that the expectation of the thing in its due season had taken of the writer's imagination, and from his full persuasion of the truth of the doctrine he was asserting; namely, that those who should die before our Lord's coming, and those who should then be alive, would find themselves quite upon an even footing. In the confident expectation of his own reward, his intermediate dissolution was a matter of so much indifference to him that he overlooks it. His expression, however, was so strong, that his meaning was mistaken, or, as I rather think, misrepresented. There seems to have been a sect in the Apostolic age,—in which sect, however, the Apostles themselves were not, as some have absurdly maintained, included,—but there seems

But all such expositions are more or less unsatisfactory, and must be considered rather as evasions of the real difficulty, than as fair explanations of it. Nor can I bring myself to think that the literal interpretation of the passage is, after all, so inconsistent with the full inspiration of the Apostle, as has been commonly supposed. In the first place, we should bear in mind, that St. Paul has elsewhere employed very similar language; for in his first Epistle to the Corinthians, where he is combating the error, that the resurrection had passed already, and where he expounds with such singular evidence of inspiration, the great doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh, he says, "Behold I shew you a mystery, we shall not all

to have been a sect which looked for the resurrection in their own time. Some of these persons seem to have taken advantage of St. Paul's expressions in this passage, to represent him as favouring their opinion. This occasioned the second Epistle to the Thessalonians, in which the Apostle peremptorily decides against that doctrine; maintaining that the Man of Sin is to be revealed, and a long consequence of events to run out, before the day of judgment can come; and he desires that no expression of his may be understood of its speedy arrival; which proves, if the thing needed further proof than I have already given of it, that the coming mentioned in his former epistle is the coming to

judgment, and that whatever he had said of the day of coming as at hand was to be understood only of the certainty of that coming." Sermons, vol. i. p. 19. Similar expositions were given by some of the ancients. Theodoret for example says, *Τὸ γὰρ ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες, οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ προσώπου τίθικεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῶν κατ' ἐκείνους τὸν καιρὸν περιόντων ἀνθρώπων. Πιστεύεται δὲ τὸ τοῦ ἐρημίτου παραδόξον τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ ἐνεργούντος.* Theodoret. Com. in 1 Thes. iv. 14. So also St. Augustin, "Sed quæri solet, utrum illi quos hic viventes inventurus est Christus, quorum personam in se atque illos qui tunc secum vivebant, transfigurabat Apostolus, nunquam omnino morituri sint." De Civit. Dei, lib. xx. c. 20, n. 2.

sleep, but we shall all be changed, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump : for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed ^c." From these words I think it plain, that the Apostle intended to draw a distinction between "the dead" who shall be "raised," and those then living, including himself, of whom he says, "*We* shall be changed," and "*We* shall not all sleep." Nor is this mode of speaking peculiar to St. Paul; the language of the Apostles, and of the primitive Church for some ages after the Apostles, was the language of men who were daily looking for the Lord's coming, and who believed that there was nothing to prevent His immediate appearing in the life-time of the Christians who were then on earth. St. James, for example, employs this doctrine in an exhortation to patience; "Be patient, therefore, brethren," he says, "unto the coming of the Lord, ἕως τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ Κυρίου. Behold, the husbandman waiteth for the precious fruit of the earth, and hath long patience for it, until he receive the early and latter rain. Be ye also patient; stablish your hearts, for the coming of the Lord draweth nigh ^f." These words naturally signify, that, in the judgment of the writer, they to whom he wrote might fairly expect to live "unto the coming of the Lord." And St. Peter adopts the

^c 1 Cor. xv. 51. 52.

^f Jam. v. 7, 8. Comp. also,
1 John ii. 18, and the remarks

already made on this subject,
pages 93, 94, and note ^h.

same language, but draws a manifest distinction, exactly similar to St. Paul's, between the case of those who were dead, and of those whom he was addressing: the Gentiles, he says, "think it strange that ye run not with them to the same excess of riot, speaking evil of you, who shall give account to him that is ready, *τῷ ἐροίμῳς ἔχοντι*, to judge the quick and the dead. For this cause was the Gospel preached also to them that are dead, that they might be judged according to men in the flesh, but live according to God in the spirit. But the end of all things is at hand: be ye therefore sober and watch unto prayer ^s."

It appears, therefore, if we are to take these passages in their literal signification, that the Apostles really believed ^a, and taught their converts to believe,

^s 1 Pet. iv. 4—7. Comp. ch. i. 4, 5, where the incorruptible inheritance is said to be "reserved in heaven for you, who are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation, ready to be revealed in the last time, wherein, *ἡ* [scil. *ἡ καὶ ἡ ἰσχύς*] ye greatly rejoice, &c." It is remarkable that St. Peter does not include himself, as St. Paul did, in speaking of those who shall be alive at the Lord's coming; he says *you* not *me*; and the reason of this doubtless was because St. Peter had received from our Lord himself an express revelation that he should suffer martyrdom, (see John, xxi. 18, 19,) to which he

alludes, 2 Pet. i. 13, 14. "I think it meet, so long as I am in this tabernacle, to stir you up by putting you in remembrance; knowing that shortly I must put off this my tabernacle, even as our Lord Jesus Christ hath shewed me."

^a This was the opinion of Grotius, who says, in his commentary on 1 Thes. iv. 14, (apud Crit. Sacr.) "Omnino putavit Paulus fieri posse ut ipse viveret judicii generalis tempore: idque non ex his tantum verbis satis apertis liquet, sed ex 1 Cor. xv. 51—53, et 2 Cor. v. 1—3." See also his defence of this opinion, Opp. Tom. III. p. 710.

that the second advent of the Lord and the judgment of the quick and dead, might, for aught that was revealed, take place in the course of that generation. The event indeed has proved that this expectation has not been realized, but it does not therefore follow, either that the Apostles were in error, or that their inspiration in other matters, even if we suppose them to have been here in error, was defectiveⁱ. Our Lord had commanded his disciples to be ever on the watch for His second coming : He forewarned them, that "as the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west, so shall also the coming of the Son of man be^j;" the apostles therefore had no warrant for believing that the day of Christ would not come in their own age, for the times and the seasons formed no part of the revelation, which was given to them, much less of that which they were commissioned to make known to the Church. It was natural, therefore, nay more, it was their express duty, to assume that the coming of the Lord was near at hand ; and St. Paul, in the passage we are considering, took the strongest and most obvious mode of realizing this principle, when he addressed the Thessalonians as if they and he himself were to be alive, and remain unto the Lord's appearing.

But it is very carefully to be observed, that this mode of speaking does not amount to an assertion on the part of the Apostle, that he, and they to whom he wrote, were certainly to live until the day of

ⁱ See note ^h, page 94, *supra*.

^j Matt. xxiv. 27.

Christ. To suppose so would be to repeat the very error into which the Thessalonians seem to have fallen afterwards, in interpreting what he said^k. His language in reality implies no more than this,—that, for all he knew or was inspired to foretell, they might survive to that event. For every thing that Holy Scripture had revealed, had tended to impress upon the Church, not only the certainty of the Lord's coming, but also the uncertainty of the time; inspiration itself had not made known more than the *sign* of His coming, and of the end of the world; and no man could surely say that the day of Christ was not to come in his own life-time, or in the life-time of his contemporaries. The Apostle therefore, in addressing consolation to the Thessalonians, who appear to have laboured under some erroneous impression that the condition of their brethren who were asleep in Christ, would be inferior to their own

^k A similar misapprehension appears to have been occasioned by one of our Lord's sayings. After He had made known to St. Peter "by what death he should glorify God," that Apostle, we are told, asked Him respecting St. John, "Lord what shall this man do?" And our Lord answered "If I will that he tarry till I come what is that to thee.—Follow thou me." The occasion of these words, therefore, no less than the words themselves, led to the error that St. John himself thus notices, "Then went this saying abroad among the brethren,

that that disciple should not die: yet Jesus said not unto him, He shall not die; but, if I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?" (John, xxi. 18—23.) St. Peter's error consisted in asking after the times and seasons "which the Father had put in His own power," (Acts. i. 7,) and our Lord's answer was exactly framed so as to avoid any express declaration of His will respecting St. John, while at the same time it was perfectly consistent with the opinion then prevalent among the disciples, that the time of the end was at hand.

at the coming of the Lord; the Apostle, I say, in addressing consolation to the Thessalonians, under these circumstances, takes for granted, that he and they might live to the day of judgment, and reveals to them "by the word of the Lord," that they "which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord, shall not prevent," that is, shall not enter into the presence and the joy of their Lord, before "them that sleep¹." On the contrary he tells them that "the dead in Christ shall rise first:" and "then" he says, "we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air; and so shall we ever be with the Lord."

And further, to guard against any erroneous conclusion that might be drawn from the apparent ten-

¹ Some have suggested that the words τοὺς κοιμηθέντας διὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, "them that sleep by, or on account of, Jesus," may denote martyrs. Mr. Mede, on Rev. xiv. 13, so understands them, on the authority of Tertullian. "Interim, hac interpretatione admittenda, de sensu verborum Οἱ ἐν Κυρίῳ ἀποθνήσκοντες nihil muto; adhuc ea cum prioris sententiæ sequacibus, non de quibusvis in Christi fide obdormientibus, sed speciatim de *martyribus*, intelligendo, qui vitam pro Christo profuderunt, (talibus enim constat *Resurrectio prima*: Apoc. xx. 4, 5,) ut cum Beza reddendum putem, *qui propter Dominum, seu Domini causâ, moriuntur*. Quem-

admodum ad Ephes. iv. 1. δέσμιος ἐν Κυρίῳ, *vinctus in Domino, est vinctus propter Dominum*; idem scil. quod δέσμιος τοῦ Χριστοῦ cap. iii. 1. Quo eodem sensu veteres (ut ex Tertulliano conjicere datur) acceperunt illud 1 Thes. iv. 16, *Mortui in Christo resurgent primi*, id est *Martyres*, qui propter Christi confessionem neci dati fuerint. Videsis eum de Anima c. 55." Comm. Apoc. Part. ii. Works, p. 519.

Theodoret in 1. Cor. xv. 18, interprets οἱ κοιμηθέντες ἐν Χριστῷ of the martyrs; Ἀνέβησαν ἵπτι τῆς εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν ὁμολογίας οἱ καλλίνοι μάρτυρες. Vid. Suicer. Thesaur. Eccles. in vocc. ἀποθνήσκειν et κοιμάσθαι.

dency of this mode of speaking, as if it had been his object to reveal the immediate advent of the Lord, the Apostle reminds the Thessalonians that they had already been fully instructed, as to the folly of speculating on those times and seasons of which our Lord had said, "of that day and of that hour knoweth no man, no not the angels of heaven, but my Father only^m," for he adds, "of the times and of the seasons, brethren, ye have no need that I write unto you. For yourselves know perfectly that the day of the Lord so cometh as a thief in the nightⁿ."

Had the Thessalonians rightly considered this principle, so often inculcated both by our Lord and his Apostles, they could not have understood St. Paul as having been commissioned to reveal the time of Christ's coming; for they would have known that the precise period of the coming of that day and of that hour could never be the subject of prophecy^o; that it was not for the inspired teachers themselves to know it, since this was the knowledge of which we are expressly told that the Father had reserved it to himself in order that the Church might live in continual remembrance of the Lord's command, "Take ye heed, watch and pray, for ye know not when the time is

Yet we find that St. Paul's language was mistaken or at least that it gave occasion to a misrepresentation of his doctrine, which the prophecy we are now consider was intended to correct. In his sec

^m Matt. xxiv. 36.

ⁿ 1 Thes. v. 1, 2.

^o Vid. Suicer. Thesaur. Eccl.

in voc. *αἰών*.

^p Acts, i. 7.

^q Mark, xiii. 33.

Epistle the Apostle thus notices the error into which the Thessalonian Church had fallen; "Now we beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ," or, as the passage may be rendered, "concerning the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ (*ὑπὲρ τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*), and our gathering together unto him, that ye be not soon shaken in mind, or be troubled, (neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter as from us,) as that the day of Christ is at hand^r."

From this it appears that their error consisted, not in the expectation of the near approach of the Lord's coming, but in the supposition that his immediate

^r 2 Thes. ii. 1, 2. From this passage many of the ancients concluded that a spurious epistle had been imposed upon the Thessalonians in St. Paul's name. So Tertullian, "Et in secunda, pleniore sollicitudine ad eosdem; Obsecro autem vos, fratres, per adventum Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et congregationem nostram ad illum, ne citò commoveamini animo, neque turbemini, neque per spiritum, neque per sermonem, scilicet pseudoprophetarum; neque per epistolam, scilicet pseudapostolorum, ac si per nostram, quasi insistas dies Domini." De Resur. carnis, c. 24, p. 396, D. Ed. Rigaltii. Lutetiae, 1634, fol. And St. Chrysostom, Ἐνταῦθα δοκίμῳ μοι αἰνιττῆσθαι περιέχειν τινὰς ἐπιστολὰς πλάσαντας δῆθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Παύλου, καὶ ταύτην ἐπιδικνυμένους λέγειν, ὡς ἄρα ἐφίστησι τοῦ Κυρίου ἡ

ἡμέρα, ἵνα πολλοὺς ἐντυθῶσι πλανήσωσιν. Hom. iii. in 2 Thes. tom. xi. p. 524, E. Other ancient authorities for the same opinion will be found in Fabricii Cod. Apoc. Nov. Test. tom. ii. p. 916, sq. St. Jerome, however, supposes the error of the Thessalonians to have originated in a misinterpretation of what St. Paul had said of the second coming of Christ in his first Epistle; after quoting 1 Thes. iv. 14—18, he says: "Quod audientes Macedones, non intellexerunt, quos secum viventes, Apostolus vocet, et qui dicantur residui, qui cum illo rapiantur in nubibus obviam Domino, sed arbitrati sunt, dum adhuc essent in corpore, et antequam gustarent mortem, Christum in sua majestate venturum." Epist. 121, (al. 151,) ad Algasiam, de xi. quæstionibus; quæst. xi.^{ma}.

coming was then actually "at hand;" and accordingly the Apostle reminds them of what they had overlooked, namely, that the signs and precursors of the day of Christ had been foretold; and that these "signs of His coming, and of the end of the world^{*}," had not yet appeared. "Let no man deceive you," he says, "by any means, for that day shall not come, except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition[†]."

We see, therefore, that the particular purpose for which this prophecy was written was the removing an erroneous opinion adopted by the Thessalonians, namely that the day of Christ was "at hand"; that that day was about to come at once, although the intermediate events had not yet occurred, which the Scripture, and our Lord Himself had foretold, as the preparatory signs of His coming. It will be necessary to keep this in mind whilst we attempt to discover the real import of the prediction, and to refute some erroneous interpretations of it.

II. The Apostle, we have seen, acquaints the Thessalonians that before the coming of the day of Christ "a falling away" shall come first, and "the man of sin," "the son of perdition," be revealed. We are, therefore, now, in accordance with the method in which I proposed to treat the subject, to compare this prophecy with the prophecies of Daniel, in order to shew that the same events are foretold in both predictions.

1. And first, let us inquire whether "the falling

^{*} Matt. xxiv. 3.

[†] 2 Thes. ii. 3.

away," which the Apostle tells us must precede the second coming of the Lord, had been revealed before in the prophecies of Daniel.

(1.) For this purpose it will be necessary to consider the true meaning of the term which is rendered in our English version "a falling away."

Many very ancient writers were of opinion, that it denoted the dismemberment of Daniel's fourth kingdom, or the separation of the several kingdoms that had formed parts of it.

According to this opinion, the prophecy is a prediction of an event already foretold in Daniel's visions, namely that the fourth monarchy, immediately before its final destruction, that is to say, immediately before the second advent of the Lord, shall be broken into many sovereignties, and its power divided among several kings. This interpretation has been adopted chiefly by the Latin fathers; and if it be admitted, no farther proof can be necessary of the identity of this part of the prophecy with those of Daniel^u.

^u It would far exceed the limits of a note were I to quote all the writers who have given this interpretation to the prophecy; but the following extracts are necessary to illustrate what has been said.

Tertullian (A. D. 190,) gives the following exposition of the passage:—"Ne quis vos seducat ullo modo, quoniam nisi veniat abscessio primò, hujus utique regni, et reveletur delinquentiæ homo, id est Antichristus, filius perditionis, qui

adversatur et superextollitur in omne quod Deus dicitur, vel religio; uti sedeat in templo Dei, adfirmans Deum se. Nonne meministis quod cum apud vos essem, hæc dicebam vobis? et nunc quid detineat scitis, ad revelandum eum in suo tempore. Jam enim arcanum iniquitatis agitur; tantum qui nunc tenet, teneat; donec de medio fiat; quis, nisi Romanus status? cujus abscessio in decem reges dispersa Antichristum superducat; et tunc

But the most general opinion seems to be that by the falling away, or the apostacy, the Apostle meant a religious defection, or a departure from the faith of Christ, and from the communion of the Church.

Amongst the ancients some appear to have applied

revelabitur iniquus, quem Dominus Jesus interficiet spiritu oris sui, et evacuabit, apparentia adventus sui; cujus est adventus secundum operationem Satanæ in omni virtute, et signis atque portentis mendacii, et in omni seductione injustitiæ eis qui pereunt." De Resurrect. carnis, cap. 24.

St. Jerome also, Ep. ad Algasiam, de xi. quæstionibus. "Nisi, inquit, [Apostolus] venerit discessio primum, quod Græce dicitur ἀποστασία, ut omnes gentes quæ Romano imperio subjacent, recedant ab eis, et revelatus fuerit, id est, ostensus, quem omnia prophetarum verba prænunciant, homo peccati, in quo fons omnium peccatorum est."

So also, Hilary the deacon, (cir. A.D. 380,) or whoever was the author of the Commentaries falsely ascribed to St. Ambrose, "non prius veniet Dominus, quam regni Romani defectio fiat, et appareat Antichristus, qui interficiet sanctos, reddita Romanis libertate, sub suo tamen nomine." Comm. in loc. ap. B. Ambrosii Opp. tom. ii. Append. col. 286, A. Edit. Bened. fol. Paris, 1690.

Sedulius (A.D. 434) mentions the various readings of this passage in the Latin ver-

sions of his time, but gives the same interpretation to the prophecy; "Quoniam nisi venerit discessio (*alias, dissensio.*) Hoc est, nisi Antichristus venerit, non veniet Christus. Quod autem dissensionem hic dicit, alibi eum refugam appellavit in Latinis exemplaribus. Utrumque autem ita intelligendum est, quod nisi venerit refuga veritatis, sive sui principatus desertor, sive discessio Gentilium a regno Romano, sicut in Daniele per bestiæ imaginem dicitur."—Collect. in Epist. Paul. fol. 89. Basil. 1528. And Primasius, Bishop of Adrumetum, in the sixth century, says, "*Discessio primum.* Desertio veritatis, vel sui principatus: sive discessio gentium a Romano imperio, sicut in Daniele per bestiam, et imaginis figuram, monstratur." Comm. in loco, 8vo., fol. 160, b. Paris. 1543.

It appears that the ancient Latin copies gave various versions of the word ἀποστασία, dissensio, abscessio, refuga, discessio, defectio, and these diversities were the cause, or perhaps in some cases the consequence, of corresponding varieties of interpretation. Vid. Sabatier in loc.

the word in this sense to Antichrist alone, as if the reading had been, "the apostate shall come," or as if the coming of the apostacy and the revelation of the man of sin were to be taken as strictly synonymous phrases, predicting the advent of the same individual; that as Antichrist shall be in the highest degree guilty of apostacy himself, and the cause of it in others, so he is here designated by the name of *the apostacy*, ἡ ἀποστασία, as well as by the titles of "the man of sin," and "the son of perdition."

† S. Augustin reads, "Quoniam nisi venerit refuga primum," and interprets it thus: "Nulli dubium est eum de Antichristo ista dixisse; diemque judicii (hunc enim appellat diem Domini) non esse venturum, nisi ille prior venerit, quem refugam vocat, utique a Domino Deo. Quod si de omnibus impiis merito dici potest, quanto magis de isto." De Civit. Dei, lib. xx. c. 19.

The Greek fathers very generally apply the word ἀποστασία to the individual Antichrist. S. Chrysostom's remarks on the passage are as follow: Περὶ τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου ἐνταῦθα διαλέγεται, καὶ μεγάλη ἀποκαλύπτει μυστήρια. Τί ἐστιν Ἡ ἀποστασία; Ἀὐτὸν καλεῖ τὸν ἀντίχριστον ἀποστασίαν, ὡς πολλοὺς μέλλοντα ἀπολλύναι καὶ ἀφιστᾶν. Ὅτι, φησὶ, σκανδαλισθῆναι, εἰ δυνατόν, καὶ τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς. Hom. iii. in 2 Thes. tom. xi. p. 525. And Theodoret, (in loc.) says, Ἀποστασίαν αὐτὸν ἐκάλει τὸν ἀντίχριστον, ἀπὸ τοῦ

πράγματος αὐτῷ τοῦ νομα τιθιμῶς. ἀποστήσαι γὰρ ἀπαντας τῆς ἀληθείας πειρᾶται. Theophylact also (Comm. in loco.) gives the same exposition:—Οὐ γινισκαίται, φησιν, ἡ παρουσία τοῦ Κυρίου, ἐὰν μὴ ἔλθῃ ἡ ἀποστασία, τουτίστιν, ὁ Ἀντίχριστος. ἀποστασίαν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκάλει, αὐτόχρημα τοῦτο ὄντα, ὡς πολλοὺς μέλλοντα ἀφιστᾶν, καὶ τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς, εἰ δυνατόν. Καὶ ἄνθρωποι δὲ ἁμαρτίας τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸν πᾶσαν ἁμαρτίαν τελίσοντα, καὶ ἄλλους πρὸς τὸ ἁμαρτάνειν ὑποσκιλίσοντα. Καὶ υἱὸν δὲ ἀπαλίας, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπολούμενον. Τίς δὲ οὗτος ἐστίν; ἄρα ὁ Σατανᾶς; οὐδαμῶς, ἀλλ' ἄνθρωπός τις, πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ ἐμπιχόμενος τὴν ἐνέργειαν. Oecumenius (Comm. in loc.) says, Ἀποστασίαν αὐτοῦ λέγει τὸν Ἀντίχριστον, ὡς ἀφιστᾶν μέλλοντα πολλοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἢ ἀποστασία, αὐτὴν τὴν ἀπὸ Θεοῦ ἀναχώρησιν, καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα.

The difference, here noted, between the Greeks and the Latins, in their interpretation of this prophecy, is instructive;

The great majority of commentators, however, take the word to denote, not the defection of any one individual, but of vast numbers from the faith of Christ; and consider this part of the prophecy as predicting, that before the second advent of the Lord, great multitudes shall renounce their allegiance to Him, and openly blaspheme His Name *.

This view of the passage is amply confirmed by parallel prophecies; for whatever be thought of the signification of the term here, there cannot be a question that an apostacy of many from the true religion is foretold in other parts of Scripture, as an event that

the latter explained it, as we have seen, of the future divisions of the Roman empire; the former, less prejudiced by proximity to Rome, adopted a more general exposition.

* Dr. Burton's view of this passage appears to me to be quite untenable: he would translate ver. 3, *Let no man deceive you in any manner whatever, unless the falling away come first*: and he paraphrases it thus: "Let no man deceive you, by saying that the living have an advantage over the dead, being reserved to see the day of Christ: let no man say this, until the predicted apostacy is come; and then it will be seen whether the living have really an advantage over the dead; it will then be seen, who are likely to enter into the presence of Christ." (Bampton Lectures; Note 48, p. 401, note p.)

But the Apostle is not here speaking of the error of those who supposed the living to have an advantage over the dead, he is speaking of those who said, "that the day of Christ was at hand;" nor would the argument which Dr. Burton puts into the mouth of the Apostle meet even the former error, unless we suppose the deceivers alluded to to have maintained, that all men, whether believers in Christ or apostates, would, if alive, have an advantage over the dead, at His coming; the falling away of some, would not prove that believers continuing in the faith, might not have the supposed advantage. Is it not implied in Dr. Burton's version, that when the falling away had come, the Thessalonians might suffer themselves to be deceived?

is to precede the day of Christ. Thus our Lord himself asks, "Nevertheless when the Son of man cometh, shall he find faith on earth?" In a parallel prophecy of St. Paul we read that "in the latter times some shall apostatize, or depart from the faith," ἀποστήσονται τῆς πίστεως, and the same event is foretold by St. Peter, by St. Jude, and by St. John in the Apocalypse¹.

¹ Luke, xviii. 8.

² 1 Tim. iv. 1; 2 Pet. ii. 1, 2; Jude, xvii. 18; Rev. xiv. 4—14. Comp. Matt. xxiv. "The fathers of the Church," says Mr. Gresswell, "were unanimous in this opinion among others relating to the same subject; that the appearance and rise of the Antichrist would be accompanied by the persecution of the followers of the true Christ; and his kingdom would be established on the ruins of the church of the true Christ. And indeed, if the Antichrist is really such a person, as they thought him to be, it is impossible but that his rise and ascendancy, so long as they last, should be accompanied by an effect like this. The religion of Jesus Christ, as such, cannot exist in conjunction with the worship of Antichrist; and if *this* is to be established in the world, whether for a longer or a shorter time, *that* must be superseded and extinguished, for the same length of time at least. And with respect to the probability of such an event—

our Saviour's ominous inquiry; 'Nevertheless, when the Son of man is come, shall he find the faith on the earth?' St. Paul's *apostacy* or *falling away*, which must precede the arrival of the end, and the second coming of Christ; the man of sin, exalting himself above all that is called God, and sitting in the temple of God, himself as God; the little horn of Daniel, whose look was more stout than his fellows—and whose mouth spake blasphemy against the Most High; the beast, whose mark was received by the majority of mankind, in the Revelation, and whose image was set up as the object of idolatrous worship to his followers; all these intimations speak the same language, and lead to the same inference in general; that the world has yet some time or other to witness a stranger phenomenon than any thing heretofore seen; even no less surprising an event, than the public renunciation of the religion of Christ, by the great mass of mankind, and the sub-

But we are now more immediately concerned to show that such an apostacy was foretold also in the prophecies of Daniel; and for this purpose I shall only need to remind you in a few words of the power of the infidel king, the nature and extent of the kingdom over which he shall reign, and the multitudes who shall submit themselves to his sway, as these facts were predicted in Daniel's visions. You will remember too that blasphemy and atheism, enmity to the saints, and to their religion, and a wish "to change times and laws," were among the personal characteristics of this potentate; from all which we might have inferred the apostacy, as well as the numbers of his followers, even though this had not been expressly revealed; but we read, that "he shall have intelligence with them that forsake the holy covenant," "and such as do wickedly against the covenant shall he corrupt," or, as the margin of our Bibles renders it, "shall he cause to dissemble, by flatteries *."

It appears, therefore, that whether we interpret the apostacy of the divisions which are to take place in the fourth monarchy, or whether we understand it of a departure or falling away from true religion, nothing is predicted in the prophecy before us which was not previously foretold in Daniel's visions.

(2.) We may remark also a further, though less obvious agreement between the prophecies. The

stitution of another in its stead, which whether Christian or not, in name, will not be that of the true Christ, but of the

Antichrist." *Exposition of the Parables*, vol. i. p. 480, sq.

* Dan. xi. 30, 32.

argument of the Apostle compels us to infer, that the apostacy, when it comes, will be of short duration ; for otherwise its coming could not properly be mentioned as a sign of the *immediate* advent of the day of Christ. We have seen that the coming of the Lord was then expected as an event that might take place in that very generation ; but this would be impossible, if the apostacy were to last for centuries ; and the reasoning of the Apostle implies, I think, that the Church may fairly look for the *immediate* coming of her Lord, whensoever she shall perceive that the apostacy is come, and the man of sin revealed.

Now the short duration of the season of persecution foretold in the prophecies of Daniel, is also very distinctly and prominently revealed. The saints shall be delivered into the hands of Antichrist for a time, times, and an half, or three years and six months only. "From the time that the daily sacrifice shall be taken away, and the abomination that maketh desolate set up, there shall be a thousand two hundred and ninety days ;" and the blessedness of the saints shall be complete after a thousand three hundred and five and thirty days ^a. The longest period mentioned in these prophecies, at the end of which the sanctuary shall be cleansed, is but two thousand three hundred days, or six lunar years and a half ^b.

This circumstance, the short duration of the apostacy under Antichrist, is also revealed in many other

^a Dan. vii. 25. xii. 7, 11, 12.

^b Dan. viii. 14.

prophecies, for the consolation and support of the faithful under that last and dreadful trial; but I shall now only remind you of the words of our blessed Lord, in which he predicts as one of the signs of his coming, and of the end of the world, a season of "great tribulation, such as was not since the beginning of the world to this present time, no nor ever shall be;" a season which must be identical with that foretold by Daniel, because this is also described "as a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation, even to that same time;" and you will remember that of this season of affliction our Lord has said, "and except those days should be shortened, there should no flesh be saved: but for the elect's sake those days shall be shortened."

2. The next sign of the coming of the day of Christ which is given by the apostle in the text, is the revelation of the Man of Sin. And here commentators seem very generally to admit that an allusion to "the king of fierce countenance," or the king "who shall do according to his will," foretold in Daniel's prophecies, was intended by the Apostle. The use of the emphatic article,—"*the* falling away," ἡ ἀποστασία, "*the* Man of Sin," ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀμαρτίας, or as our translators have expressed it "*that* man of sin,"—implies, it has been said, an allusion to a former and well known prediction^c; if so, it

^c Matt. xxiv. 24, Dan. xii. 1; see Bishop Horsley's sermons on Matt. xxiv. 3.

^d Erasmus (in loc.) says "Et

ἰ articulatus additus significat insignem illam et ante predictam defectionem." And on ver. 7, "*Homo peccati*" "O

can hardly be doubted that Daniel's prophecies were the source from which this previous information was derived; and Bishop Newton remarks^c that St. Paul has here borrowed from Daniel, not only the ideas, or matter of this prophecy, but also some of the phrases and expressions.

It is not, however, safe to rest our proof of the identity of St. Paul's man of sin, with the blasphemous king in the book of Daniel, on the fact that the Apostle appears to speak as if this prophecy had been already well known to the Thessalonians; for he adds immediately after, "Remember ye not, that, when I was yet with you, I told you these things^f?" Their previous knowledge of the events predicted, therefore, may have been derived from these his former, though unwritten, revelations to them, no less than from the book of Daniel.

ἀνθρώπος τῆς ἀμαρτίας. Divus Ambrosius," [he means the author of the Commentary usually attributed to S. Ambrose; but now generally admitted to be spurious, although probably a work of the fourth century,] "ut explicaret vim articuli, legit, *homo ille*, ut acciperemus de certo homine dictum." Bishop Newton follows Erasmus, but in quoting this passage, omits the last six words. Diss. xxii.

^c "If then, the notion of *the man of sin* be derived from any ancient prophet, it must be derived from Daniel, who hath described the like arrogant and tyrannical power: (vii.

25.) 'He shall speak great words against the Most High, and shall wear out the saints of the Most High, and think to change times and laws': and again (xi. 36.) 'The king shall do according to his will, and he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every god, and shall speak marvelous things against the God of gods.' Any man may be satisfied that St. Paul alluded to this description by Daniel, because he hath not only borrowed the ideas, but hath even adopted some of the phrases and expressions." Newton on the Prophecies. Diss. xxii.

^f 2 Thes. ii. 5.

But all reasonable doubt on the subject will, I think, be removed, if we can show, that the man of sin of St. Paul agrees in character, and actions, in the period of his manifestation, and in the manner of his destruction, with the blasphemous king of Daniel.

(1.) In both prophecies you will observe that the power thus described is mentioned in connexion with a powerful confederacy, the object of which is to destroy and persecute the saints, and of which the infidel king is the head and leader. This is more distinctly revealed in the prophecies of Daniel, than by St. Paul, who merely mentions the falling away, and the revelation of the man of sin, as connected and contemporaneous events. But the Apostle's prophecy is strictly consistent with that of Daniel, and is expressed with the conciseness of one who knew that they to whom he wrote were already acquainted with the more ancient prediction.

(2.) You will observe also that blasphemy, and blasphemy of the most impious character, is ascribed in this prophecy to the man of sin. He is to be one "who opposeth, and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he as God, sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God^s." And I need hardly remind you that the same description is given of the infidel king in Daniel. "He shall speak great words against the Most High, and shall wear out the saints of the Most High, and think to change times and

^s 2 Thes. ii. 4.

laws ^h.” “He waxed great even to, or against, the host of heaven; and he cast down some of the host and of the stars to the ground, and stamped upon them. Yea, he magnified himself even to the Prince of the Host, and by him the daily sacrifice was taken away, and the place of his sanctuary cast down;” and again, even more explicitly, “And the king shall do according to his will; and he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every God, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods, and shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished ⁱ.”

Daniel, therefore, and St. Paul agree in predicting the advent of a power whose opposition to religion shall be directed, not merely against true religion, but against “all that is called god, or that is worshipped.” It is not merely that “he shall not regard the God of his fathers,” but “he shall not regard any god; for he shall magnify himself above all ^j.” He shall aim at the destruction of all religious worship, as such, whether true or false; and he shall do so by a blasphemous attempt to seat himself on the throne of the Almighty, by an exaction of Divine honors to his own person, and by an insane usurpation of the name and attributes of Deity.

(3.) A very remarkable circumstance, mentioned by the Apostle, in his description of the blasphemy of the man of sin, is, that he shall “sit in the Temple of God.”

^h Dan. vii. 25. See the observations already made on this passage, Lect. III. page 106.

ⁱ Dan. viii. 10, 11, xi. 36.

^j Dan. xiii. 37.

These words are interpreted by a very large majority of modern commentators, to signify that an *ecclesiastical* potentate must be intended in the prediction. "Under the gospel dispensation," says Bishop Newton, "the *temple of God* is the Church of Christ; and the man of sin's *sitting* implies his ruling and presiding there, and sitting there *as God* implies his claiming divine authority in things spiritual as well as temporal, and *shewing himself that he is God* implies his doing it with great pride and pomp, with great parade and ostentation^k." "He doth sit in the temple of God," says Bishop Jewel, "that is, he is bold, and without force of any danger. He is not driven to hide himself in a corner: he is exalted in the eye, and in the heart of the world. He beareth rule in the conscience of men. He hath the keys to open and shut at his pleasure. He maketh kings and princes become his subjects. He ruleth them: not by sword or spear only, but by pretence of religion: he telleth them, all things are put in subjection under his feet: that he is the vicar of Christ: that his word must be taken as the word of God. So, he sitteth in the temple of God, as if he were God^l."

But every candid reader must see the great violence that is done to the prophecy by this interpretation of it. The man of sin, is surely not described as one who rules the kings and princes of the earth "by pretence of religion;" who "bears rule in the conscience," or makes any profession, however hypocri-

^k Dissert. xxii.

^l Exposition of 2 Thes. in loc.

tical, of deriving his authority from on high ; he is one “ who opposeth and exalteth himself,” not against the true God or the true worship merely, but against all that is called god,” whether true or false, “ or that is worshipped.”

And who is there that does not feel how greatly the degree of blasphemy, described by the Apostle, is lowered, when we are told, that the awful words “ shewing himself that he is God,” denote merely, the “ great pride and pomp,” the “ great parade and ostentation,” with which the man of sin is to claim authority as the vicar of God and of Christ? It is true, that by “ the temple of God” a modern Christian might very naturally understand the Church of Christ, but it is difficult to believe that they to whom the Apostle wrote, could have understood the words otherwise than of the literal temple in Jerusalem. And in fact, we find that it is of the literal temple the Apostle has been supposed to speak by all the more ancient Christians whose extant writings contain allusions to this passage ; for they believed, as many prophecies plainly foretell, that the temple of Jerusalem shall once again be rebuilt after the gathering and restoration of the dispersed of Judah, that Antichrist, the man of sin, shall there exhibit himself as God, and there compel his deluded and apostate followers to offer to him the impious flattery of divine honors^m.

^m The most ancient interpretation of the words “ sitting in the temple of God” undoubtedly

ly was that which supposes the literal temple of Jerusalem to be intended ; and that the

I confess, therefore, that I am strongly disposed to adopt this ancient interpretation of the passage, and

temple is to be rebuilt in the latter times was very generally believed. Thus the Sibylline Oracles, a production of the second century, and which may fairly be quoted as evidence of the common belief of Christians at that period, every where assume the future restoration of the temple. See Mr. Gresswell's dissertation on the Sibylline Oracles; (Expos. of the Parables, vol. v. part 2, App. ch. 8, p. 172.) Tertulian quotes the words "sitting in the temple of God," without giving any explanation of them, (De resur. carn. c. 24, quoted p. 205, note^u, and Adv. Marcion. lib. v. c. 16,) from which we may perhaps infer that he took them literally. Lactantius says, that Antichrist shall endeavour to destroy the temple, which implies its previous existence; "Tunc eruere templum Dei conabitur, et justum populum persequetur." (De vita beata; Institt. lib. v. c. 17.) But Irenæus gives a formal exposition of the prophecy, Cont. hæc. lib. v. c. 25. n. 2. "Super hæc autem manifestavit [Apostolus] et illud, quod a nobis per multa ostensum est, quoniam in Hierosolymis templum dispositione veri Dei factum est. Ipse enim Apostolus ex sua persona diffinitive templum illud dixit Dei. Ostendimus autem in tertio libro, nullum ab Apostolo ex sua persona

Deum appellari, nisi eum qui vere sit Deus, Patrem Domini nostri: cujus jussu hoc, quod est in Hierosolymis, factum est templum, ob eas causas quæ a nobis dictæ sunt: in quo adversarius sedebit, tentans semetipsum Christum ostendere, sicut et Dominus ait: *Cum videritis abominationem desolationis*, &c. [Matt. xxiv. 15, seqq.]" And again, n. 4. "transferet [Antichristus] regnum in eam, [sc. Hierosolymam,] et in templo Dei sedet, seducens eos qui adorant eum, quasi ipse sit Christus." Comp. also cap. 30, n. 4.—The ruins of the temple continued standing until the seventh century; and hence, many of the ancients thought that it would be rebuilt by Antichrist, and that our Lord's prophecy that one stone shall not be left upon another, was not to be fulfilled until the latter times. See particularly S. Cyril of Jerusalem, Catech. xv. n. 15, and the note of the Benedictine editor. For this opinion, that *Antichrist* should rebuild the temple, which was so generally held by the fathers of the fourth century, I cannot see any Scriptural authority, and it does not seem to have been known to Irenæus and the older writers; S. Hippolytus, indeed, is quoted for it, (De consummationemundi,) but this work is now generally allowed to be spurious, and is pro-

to believe, that the man of sin, the son of perdition, who is hereafter to be revealed, will sit literally in

bably a production of the fourth or fifth century: the author of it says, c. 20. ἀνέδειξεν ὁ χριστὸς τὴν ἰδίαν σάρκα ὡς ναὸν, καὶ ἀνέστησε τριήμερον, καὶ αὐτὸς [ὁ Ἀντιχρίστος] ἀναστήσει τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις λίθινον ναόν. And again, c. 25, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ποιήσει τὸν ναὸν τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, καὶ ἀναστήσει αὐτὸν ἐν τάχει, καὶ ἀποδώσει αὐτὸν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις. These writers, however, have not explained how a temple built by Antichrist for his own purposes can be properly called "the Temple of God." Passing over therefore this part of the opinion, which seems unauthorized by Scripture, it was clearly the doctrine of the Church up to the fourth century, that the literal temple was intended in St. Paul's prophecy; S. Cyril asks (loc. cit.) ποῖοι ἄρα ναὸν; τὸν καταλειμμένον τῶν Ἰουδαίων φησί· μὴ γένοιτο γὰρ τοῦτον ἐν ᾧ ἵσμεν. Διὰ τί τοῦτο λέγομεν; ἵνα μὴ νομιζόμεθα χαρίζεσθαι ἑαυτοῖς· εἰ γὰρ ὡς Χριστὸς πρὸς Ἰουδαίους ἔρχεται, καὶ ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων προσκυνεῖσθαι βούλεται ἵνα αὐτοὺς μειζόνος ἀπατήσης, περισπούδασον ποιῶν τὸν ναόν· ὑπερίαν διδούς, ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ὁ ἐκ γενεῶν Δαβὶδ, ὁ τὸν ὑπὸ Σαλομῶνος ναὸν κατασκευασθέντα μέλλον οἰκοδομεῖν. Gregory Nazianzen, (Orat. 47, p. 724, D. Opp. tom. I. Par. 1620,) says, Βδελύγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως ἐστὼς ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ, φασὶν ὅτι ὁ ναὸς ὁ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις οἰκοδημηθήσεται ὕστερον, ὡς τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου πιστευθεσόμενου

ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων Χριστοῦ εἶναι, καὶ καθισθησόμενου, καὶ δέοντος ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης εἶναι βασιλείας, ἥξει δὲ ἐπ' ἐρημία τοῦ κόσμου. βδελύγμα γὰρ ἐστὶ τῆς ἐρημώσεως. S. Martin of Tours, as his opinion is reported by Sulpitius Severus, Dial. ii. c. 16. "Cæterum cum ab eo [B. Martino] de fine sæculi quæreremus, ait nobis,ab Antichristo vero orientale imperium esse capiendum; qui quidem sedem et caput regni Hierosolymam esset habiturus: ab illo urbem et templum esse reparandum." And the same interpretation of the prophecy is maintained by later writers; thus in the eighth century, S. John Damascene, De fide orthod. lib. iv. c. 26, εἰς τὸν ναὸν δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὐ τὸν ἡμέτερον, ἀλλὰ τὸν παλαιόν, τὸν Ἰουδαϊκόν. οὐ γὰρ ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐλεύσεται [Ἀντιχρίστος.] Opp. Tom. i. p. 300. Par. 1712.

Yet, it was in the fourth century that a departure from the common literal interpretation seems to have begun. S. Augustin, for example, thus recites the various opinions then current; (De civitate Dei, lib. xx. c. 19.) "Sed in quo templo Dei sit sessurus, incertum est: utrum in illa ruina templi, quod a Salomone rege constructum est, an vero in ecclesia. Non enim templum alicujus idoli aut dæmonis, templum Dei Apostolus diceret. Unde nonnulli, non ip-

the Temple of the Jews at Jerusalem, "shewing himself that he is God." I cannot help feeling per-

sum principem, sed universum quodammodo corpus ejus, id est, ad eum pertinentem hominum multitudinem, simul cum ipso suo principe hoc loco intelligi Antichristum volunt: rectiusque putant etiam latine dici, sicut in græco est, non *in templo Dei*; sed, *in templum Dei sedeat*, tanquam ipse sit templum Dei, quod est ecclesia: sicut dicimus, Sedet in amicum, id est, velut amicus: vel si quid aliud isto locutionis genere dici solet." And S. Jerome (Ep. 121, ad Algasiam, quæst. xi.) "Et extollitur supra omne quod dicitur Deus, ut cunctarum gentium deos, sive probatam omnem, et veram religionem suo calcet pede; et in Templo Dei, vel Ierosolymis, (ut quidam putant,) vel in Ecclesia, (ut verius arbitramur) sederit, ostendens se tanquam ipse sit Christus, et filius Dei."

But these ancient writers, when they speak of Antichrist's sitting "in ecclesia" evidently meant, not *the Church*, in the sense explained by Bishop Newton, for example, but *a Church*, i. e. an edifice for Christian worship. This was plainly St. Chrysostom's opinion, although he does not altogether reject the literal interpretation; his words are (Hom. iii. in 2 Thes. ii. 4.) *καί οὖν προσκυνῶν αὐτὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ καθισθίσσεται εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὗ τὸν ἐν Ἱερουσόλοιμοις μόνον, ἀλλὰ*

καὶ εἰς τὰς πανταχοῦ ἐκκλησίας. And he is followed by Theodoret (in 2 Thes. ii. 4,) who makes no mention of the older opinion: *ναὸν δὲ Θεοῦ τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἐκάλουν, ἐν αἷς ἀρχαίου τῆν προεδρεύειν, θιὸν ἱκανὸν ἀποδιδυκῶναι πυρῶμιος. ταῦτα καὶ ὁ θυὸς προηγύρισεν Δαυὶδ, ἔφη γὰρ, Καὶ ἐπὶ θεοῦ τῶν πατρῶν αὐτοῦ οὐ συνήσει, καὶ θιὸν Μωϋσῆ ἐπὶ τόπῳ ἱκανοῦ δοξάσει, ἀντὶ τοῦ, θιὸν ἰσχυρὸν ἱκανὸν ὀνομάσει.* But, for this opinion there is no Scriptural authority whatsoever; and it is manifest that no Christian of the Apostolic age could ever have understood "the temple of God," of a Christian place of worship. See Malvenda de Antichristo lib. vii. c. 7, p. 357.

The earliest approach to the modern opinion that I have met with in any ancient writer, is that mentioned by S. Augustin, at the end of the passage above quoted. Its authors seem to have thought that by the Man of Sin the Apostle meant, the whole body of Antichrist's followers, including Antichrist himself as their head or leader; and that as Antichrist shall claim to be the Christ, so his followers shall pretend to be the Church of Christ; but this opinion seems to have had but few followers. Something of the kind appears to be mentioned by a writer of the tenth century, if the tract de Antichristo, published with S. Augustine's

suaded, notwithstanding the many high authorities that have adopted a different interpretation, that the literal signification of the words is most in accordance with other revelations of holy writ, wherein the restoration of the temple at Jerusalem is plainly and unequivocally foretold ^a.

What, for example, can be more express than the following prophecy, which has certainly never been fulfilled in any past restoration of the Jewish people, and is connected, in the context of the book of Ezekiel, with predictions that are manifestly future? "Thus saith the Lord God; behold, I will take the children of Israel from among the heathen, whither they be gone, and will gather them on every side, and bring them into their own land: and I will make them one nation in the land upon the mountains of Israel; and one king shall be king to them all: and they shall be no more two nations, neither shall they be divided into two kingdoms any more at all.....

works, be rightly ascribed to the monk Adso; but he seems to prefer the literal interpretation, mentioning the other only as a possible opinion; and indeed I am not sure whether by "*sanctaecclesia*" he too did not mean the edifice or place of worship. His words are,

"Deinde Ierosolymam veniens, omnes Christianos quos ad se non poterit convertere, per varia tormenta jugulabit, et suam sedem in templo sancto ponet. Templum etiam destructum, quod Salomon Deo paravit, tunc ædificabit, in sta-

tu suo restaurabit, et circumcidet se, et filium Dei omnipotentis se esse mentietur Sive etiam in templo Dei sedebit Antichristus, id est in sancta ecclesia, omnes Christianos cupiens facere martyres: et elevabitur et magnificabitur: quia in ipso erit caput omnium malorum diabolus, &c. (B. August. Opp. tom. vi. p. 243. Append. Edit. Bened.)

^a The same view of this prophecy is taken by the Rev. W. Burgh, in his Lectures on the Second Advent of our Lord; Lect. II.

And they shall dwell in the land that I have given unto Jacob my servant, wherein your fathers have dwelt; and they shall dwell therein, even they, and their children, and their children's children for ever: and my servant David shall be their prince for ever. Moreover, I will make a covenant of peace with them; it shall be an everlasting covenant with them; and I will place them, and multiply them, and will set my sanctuary in the midst of them for evermore. My tabernacle also shall be with them; yea I will be their God, and they shall be my people. And the heathen shall know that I the Lord do sanctify Israel, when my sanctuary shall be in the midst of them for evermore °."

Here then, the restoration of the sanctuary of God in the midst of the Jewish people, in the land of their forefathers, is plainly foretold; and if so, there is no longer any difficulty in supposing the temple of God, wherein the man of sin shall sit, to be the literal temple of Jerusalem ^p.

° Ezek. xxxvii. 21, 22, 25—28.

^p The figurative interpretation of this passage, adopted by many Protestant writers, has been framed to accord with the popular doctrine that the Pope is Antichrist, and Popery the Apostacy; yet it may, I think, be shewn that it is utterly inconsistent with that doctrine: for if we set out with the assumption that the Pope bears rule in the figurative temple of God, it will follow, since

the Pope bears rule only in the Churches which have submitted to the Tridentine dogmas, and not in the Greek, Anglican, or Protestant Churches, that therefore the Churches infected with Popish errors are called by the Apostle "the temple of God," and consequently cannot be apostate.

Or if we set out with assuming that these Churches are the Apostacy, then the Pope, who bears rule only in them, and not at all in the Churches

But I would remark that the literal interpretation of the passage enables us to trace another point of agreement between the man of sin, and the blasphemous king described in the prophecies of Daniel; for we read of the latter, that he shall take away the daily sacrifice, and cast down the place of the sanctuary; expressions which manifestly imply the existence of the Jewish temple and worship, and which must necessarily have been so understood by those to whom the prophecies of Daniel were originally addressed. If therefore Antichrist is to sit in the temple of God, "shewing himself that he is God"; if he is there "to exalt himself and magnify himself above every god," and "to speak marvellous things against the God of gods^a," it is clear that the worship of the true God must, during that daring blasphemy of the man of sin, be suspended, and the daily sacrifice taken away.

Again, we read that "he shall plant the tabernacles of his palaces between the seas, in the glorious holy mountain," which can only mean the holy mountain whereon the temple stood, and where it shall again be rebuilt. If so, therefore we have a direct agreement between the prophecies; the man of sin shall sit in the temple of God; the infidel king shall plant the tabernacles of his palaces on the holy mountain, whereon the temple shall be built. But the

which have dissallowed his supremacy, sitteth not in the temple of God, but in a temple of Apostates, and consequently cannot be the Man of Sin.

Such are the inconsistencies

to which we are liable, when we suffer our passions, and the heat of controversy, to carry us away from the letter of the word of God.

^a Dan. xi. 36.

prophecy of St. Paul supplies an important fact which is not so distinctly revealed by Daniel. We learn indeed from the older prophet, that the temple worship shall be in existence in the days of Antichrist, and the daily sacrifice by him taken away; we read also that "he shall enter into the glorious land," and "plant his tabernacles" on the holy mountain; but St. Paul adds to this another fact, namely, that he shall sit in the very temple of the Most High itself, and there usurp the name and attributes of the Almighty'. And it is, perhaps, to this our blessed Lord alludes when he says, "when ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stand *in the holy place*, (whoso readeth let him understand :) then let them which be in Judæa flee into the mountains."

' The connexion between this prophecy and the prophecies of Daniel, is asserted by Origen, and urged by him in his argument against Celsus. (Cont. Cels. lib. vi. c. 46. Opp. Tom. i. p. 668, Ed. Bened.) After quoting 2 Thes. ii. 1—6, he says, 'Η περί αὐτοῦ δι' προφητεία ἐν τῷ Δανιὴλ λέλεκται, δύναμιν τὸν φρονίμως καὶ ἐνγνιμότως ἀναγινώσκοντα ἐπιστρέψαι ἐπὶ τὸ θαυμάσαι τοὺς λόγους ὡς ἀληθῶς ἱθιούς καὶ προφητικούς, ἐν οἷς λέλεκται τὰ περὶ τῶν μελλουσῶν βασιλειῶν, ἀρξάμενα ἀπὸ τῶν χρόνων Δανιὴλ μέχρι τῆς φθορᾶς τοῦ κόσμου, ἐνίσταται δὲ τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐντυχεῖν αὐτῇ. πλὴν τὰ περὶ τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου, ὅρα εἰ μὴ τοιαυτά ἐστὶ καὶ ἐπ' ἐσχάτῳ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῶν, πληρομένων τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν

αὐτῶν, ἀναστήσεται βασιλεὺς ἀναιδὴς πρὸς ὅπαν, καὶ συνίων προβλήματα, καὶ κραταῖα ἡ ἰσχύς αὐτοῦ, καὶ θαυμαστὰ διαφθερεῖ, καὶ κατενθυνῇ, καὶ ποιήσει, καὶ διαφθερεῖ ἰσχυροὺς, καὶ λαὸν ἅγιον· καὶ ὁ ζυγὸς τοῦ κλοιοῦ αὐτοῦ κατενθυνῇ· ὁ δόλος ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ μεγαλυνήσεται. καὶ ὁλόγῳ διαφθερεῖ πολλοὺς, καὶ ἐπὶ ἀπωλείας πολλῶν στήσεται, καὶ ὡς ὡὰ χειρὶ συντρίψει. ὅπερ καὶ παρὰ τῷ Παύλῳ λέλεκται ἐν ἡ ἐξεθμεν αὐτοῦ λίξι φασκοῦση, ὥστε αὐτὸ εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καθίσει ἀποδεικνύντα ἑαυτὸν ὅτι ἐστὶ θεός· τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῷ Δανιὴλ τοῦτο ἐρητάται τὸν τρόπον, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν βδίλυγμα τῶν ἐρημάσεων, καὶ ὡς συντελείας καιροῦ συντέλεια δοθήσεται ἐπὶ τὴν ἐρημωσιν.

(4.) And further, St. Paul tells us that the wicked one, whose coming he predicts, shall be destroyed at the second advent of our Lord :—"whom the Lord shall consume with the Spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming". Now I need scarcely remind you, that this was one of the most remarkable circumstances revealed in the prophecies of Daniel respecting the infidel potentate there described. The fourth kingdom, in the vision of the image, was overturned, when the God of heaven set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed; the little horn of the beast prevailed until the Ancient of days came to judgment; and the little horn of the goat "practised and prospered," until he stood up against the Prince of princes, and was broken without hand; the infidel king too, foretold in the last of Daniel's prophecies, is "to come to his end," at a period when Michael "the great prince" shall stand up for the Jewish people, and immediately before the resurrection of the dead,—when "many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt".

* 2 Thes. ii. 8.

† Dan. xii. 1, 2. Mr. Mede, speaking of the description of the day of judgment, Dan. vii. says, "Hence the same Apostle [S. Paul] learned to confute the false fear of the *Thes-salonians*, that *the day of Christ's second coming was then at hand*; because that

day could not be till *the Man of Sin* were first come, and should have reigned his time appointed: Forasmuch as Daniel had foretold it should be so, and that his destruction should be at the Son of man's appearing in the clouds; whose appearing therefore was not to be till then. This is *ἐπιφάνεια*

Thus, then, I think it appears that the prophecies of Daniel and St. Paul, so far as we have now compared them, are identical, or foretell the same events; in other words that "the Man of sin," "the Son of perdition," is the same power or potentate, who was described by Daniel under the various names of the eleventh king of the fourth monarchy, the king of fierce countenance understanding dark sentences, and the king who shall do according to his will.

III. Our next inquiry, therefore, must be, whether there are any circumstances revealed in the prophecy of St. Paul, which could not have been distinctly gathered from the book of Daniel.

We have already incidentally noticed one such circumstance, namely, that the man of sin shall sit in the very temple of God itself; and there are, I believe, several other very remarkable particulars, now for the first time made known to us.

1. The first of these is the fact that the man of sin shall be endued with the power of working miracles, a power which he shall receive from the Devil or Satan, and by means of which he shall deceive his followers, and support his blasphemous pretensions. For we read that "his coming is after the working of Satan, with all power and signs and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness

τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ in S. Paul; *whom the Lord* (saith he) *shall destroy at the ἐπιφάνεια of his coming.* Daniel's *wicked horn*, or *Beast* acting in the

wicked horn, is S. Paul's *Man of Sin*, as the Church from her infancie interpreted it." Works, p. 763.

in them that perish; because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved^u."

"His coming shall be after the working of Satan;" κατ' ἐνέργειαν τοῦ Σατανᾶ. From these words was probably derived the opinion maintained by some very ancient writers, that Antichrist shall be, as it were, an incarnation of the Devil^v. But the lan-

^u 2 Thes. ii. 9, 10.

^v I have already made some remarks on this ancient opinion, in connexion with the passage in the Apostolical constitutions, cited in the note p. 99. The following authorities may serve to show what the general doctrine of the Fathers on this head was.

S. Cyrill of Jerusalem says, (Catech. xv. c. 14.) Καὶ τίς ἐστὶν οὗτος, ἢ ἐκ ποίας ἐνεργείας; ἐρμηνεύσουσι ὧ Παῦλι· Οὐ ἐστὶ, φῆσιν, ἡ παρουσία κατ' ἐνέργειαν τοῦ Σατανᾶ, ἐν πάσῃ δυνάμει καὶ σημείοις καὶ τέρασιν ψεύδους. τοῦτο αἰνιττόμενος, ὅτι ὁ Σατανᾶς ὁργανὸν κέχρηται ἐκείνῳ, αὐτοπροσώπως δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐνεργῶν. And again speaking of those who shall suffer martyrdom under Antichrist. (ib. c. 17.) ὑπὲρ γὰρ πάντας μάρτυρας ἐγὼ φῆμι εἶναι τοὺς τότε μάρτυρας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πρὸ τούτου, μόνοις ἀνθρώποις ἐπάλαμψαν. οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου, αὐτῷ Σατανᾶ αὐτοπροσώπως πολέμησουσι. Theodoret (Heret. fabul. lib. v. c. 32, Opp. tom. iv. p. 303, D.) referring to the same passage of S. Paul, says, ἐδίδαξε δὲ, ὡς καὶ Σαταν τοῦ διαβόλου τὴν ἐνέργειαν διέτεται· καθάπερ γὰρ ὁ μονογενὴς τοῦ Θεοῦ υἱός, τοῖς μὲν

ἀγίοις προφῆταις, καὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἀποστόλοις, καὶ μέντοι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγίοις, δίδωμι τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος τὰ χαρίσματα, ἐνανθρωπήσας δὲ οὐ μερικὴν τινα τῇ ληφθείσῃ φύσει δίδωκε χάριν, ἀλλὰ πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος, κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον, ηὐδόκησεν ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικῆσαι· οὕτως ὁ διάβολος, τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις, ὅσους ἔπισιν ἐργάτας γίνεσθαι πονηρίας, οὐ πάσας ἐντίθεικε τὰς τῆς κακίας ἰδέας· τούτῳ δὲ ὅλος αὐτὸς συναφθεῖς, τὰς παντοδαπὰς αὐτοῦ τῆς πονηρίας δι' αὐτοῦ μηχανὰς ἐπιδιείζει. Lactantius speaks of Antichrist as "malo spiritu genitus," (De vita beata. Institt. lib. vii. c. 17,) and S. Martin of Tours, as his words are reported by Sulpitius Severus, (Dial. ii.) said, "non esse autem dubium quin Antichristus malo spiritu conceptus, &c." S. Basil in Ps. vii. (tom. i. p. 98, C. Ed. Bened.) says, Τὸν τοίνυν διάβολον υἱὸν ἀπωλείας ὁ ἀπόστολος ὀνομαζει· Ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ ἀποκαλυφθῇ ὁ ἄνομος ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας. S. Jerome (in Dan. vii. 8,) "Et ecce, ait, oculi quasi oculi hominis erant in cornu isto; ne eum putemus juxta quorundam opinionem, vel diabolum esse, vel dæmonem, sed unum de hominibus

guage of the Apostle hardly implies so much. It asserts only that the coming, *παρουσία*, the presence, of the man of sin, shall be after the working of Satan, supported by all the might and subtlety of that arch-enemy of man, with "power, and signs, and lying wonders;" and that in this shall consist the great deception whereby the man of sin shall entrap his followers, and entice them to their own destruction.

The words *τέρατα ψεύδους*, "lying wonders," or, as they may perhaps be more literally translated, "miracles of falsehood," may be taken to signify either fictitious or apparent miracles, or else real miracles, the object of which shall be to support false doctrine. This latter interpretation is favoured by the context, which ascribes these miracles to the working of Satan, unless indeed we should doubt, as several of the ancients did, the power of Satan to work *real* miracles. The question, however, is in a great measure a verbal one, since the supernatural character of the miracles is not denied^w; our Lord tells us that

in quo totus Satanas habitaturus sit corporaliter." See Malvenda de Antichristo, lib. ii. c. 7, 8, and the note of the Benedictine editor on the passage above cited from S. Cyrill. Catech. xv. c. 14.

^w For the opinions of the fathers on the miracles of Antichrist, see Malvenda de Antichristo lib. vii. c. 14, also c. 18—21, and Bellarmin. de Romano Pontif. lib. iii. c. 15.

Calmet, (Comm. in 2 Thes. ii. 9,) says, "Les Peres sont partagez sur la nature des miracles de l'Ante-Christ. Ceux qui ont pour principe que Dieu seul peut faire des vraies miracles, soutiennent que le Démon n'en fera que de faux, et d'apparens, par le moyen de l'Ante-Christ. S. Jérôme [ad Algasiam, qu. 11,] compare ces prodiges à ceux des Magiciens de Pharaon; et il dit que de

false Christs and false prophets shall have power to show great signs and wonders, insomuch that, if it

même que la verge de Moïse changée en serpent dévora celle des Magiciens de Pharaon aussi changée en apparence en serpent, ainsi les vrais miracles du Sauveur, détruiront les faux prodiges de l'Ante-Christ.— *Ita mendacium Antichristi veritas devorabit.* St. Chrysostom et Théophylacte les appellent faux, ou induisans à erreur. Théodoret dit nettement que ce ne seront pas de vrais miracles, mais des tours d'adresse comme en font les batteurs. Mais Saint Augustin en plusieurs endroits de ses ouvrages, [l. 83, quæ. qu. 79, n. 3, 4, et serm. 90, n. 5, nouv. edit.] soutient que les Démon et les Magiciens par leur moyen, peuvent faire de vrais miracles; que les méchans en peuvent quelquefois faire aussi-bien que les bons; et en effet le Fils de Dieu nous apprend-il pas que dans les derniers tems il s'élèvera des faiseurs de prodiges, qui essayeront d'induire à l'erreur même les élus?"

On the metaphysical question whether Satan, or any created angel can perform a real miracle, Thomas Aquinas says, (Summa 1 part. q. 110, art. 4.) "Non sufficit ad rationem miraculi, si aliquid fiat præter ordinem naturæ alicujus particularis: quia sic cum aliquis projicit lapidem sursum, miraculum faceret, cum hoc sit præter ordinem naturæ lapidis. Ex hoc ergo

aliquid dicitur esse miraculum, quod fit præter ordinem totius naturæ creatæ. Hoc autem non potest facere nisi Deus: quia quicquid facit Angelus, vel quæcunque alia creatura propria virtute, hoc fit secundum ordinem naturæ creatæ; et sic non est miraculum. Unde relinquitur quod solus Deus miracula facere possit." And again, in reply to an objection drawn from Matt. xxiv. 24, he says, (2, 2, q. 178, art. 1.) "Ad secundum dicendum, quod ibi [Matt. xxiv. 24] loquitur Dominus de miraculis quæ fienda sunt tempora Antichristi: de quibus Apostolus dicit 2 ad Thes. ii. 9, quod 'adventus Antichristi erit secundum operationem Satanæ in omni virtute, et signis et prodigiis mendacibus?' et, sicut Augustinus dicit xx. de civit. Dei (cap. 19, declinando ad finem) 'ambiguum esse solet, utrum propterea dicta sint signa, et prodigia mendacia, quoniam mortales sensus per phantasmata decepturus est, ut quod non facit, facere videatur; an quia illa, etiamsi erunt vera prodigia, ad mendacium pertrahent credituros?' Vera autem dicuntur, quia ipsæ res veræ erunt, sicut magi Pharaonis fecerunt veras ranas et veros serpentes; non tamen habebunt veram rationem miraculi, quia fient virtute naturalium causarum, &c." See also his Comm. in 2 Thes. ii. 9.

were possible, they should deceive the very elect^x; and the beast seen by St. John in the visions of the Apocalypse, is described as doing "great wonders, so that he maketh fire to come down from heaven in the sight of men, and deceiveth them that dwell on the earth by those miracles which he hath power to do^y."

Deception, therefore, by miracles, performed by the working of Satan, will be among the means whereby the man of sin shall attract his followers, and hold them in subjection: and the direct aid he shall receive from Satan in this deceivableness of unrighteousness, may perhaps explain what we read of the little horn of the rough goat in the prophecy of Daniel, "that his power shall be mighty, but not by his own power^z;" it may be also that miraculous powers are intended when it is said of the same little horn, "and it waxed great even to the host of heaven, and it cast down some of the host, and of the stars to the ground, and stamped upon them^a."

2. A second particular, made known to us in this prophecy of St. Paul, which was not so distinctly revealed in the book of Daniel, is this; that all the followers and adherents of Antichrist shall be damned. "For this cause," says the Apostle,—that is, because they are deceived by the lying wonders of the man of sin, and because they received not the love of the

^x Matt. xxiv. 24.

^y Rev. xiii. 13. See Mr. Burgh's Lectures on the Second Advent. Lect. II. p. 76,

sq. Second Edition.

^z Dan. viii. 24. See before, p. 113.

^a Dan. viii. 10.

truth that they might be saved ;—"for this cause, God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie ; that they all might be damned who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness ^b."

But upon this awful and solemn feature of the prophecy, I shall only remark, that the same thing is predicted, perhaps even more unequivocally, in the book of the Revelation ; "If any man worship the beast and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or in his hand, the same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured out without mixture into the cup of his indignation ; and he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone in the presence of the holy angels, and in the presence of the Lamb ; and the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever ; and they have no rest day nor night, who worship the beast and his image, and whosoever receiveth the mark of his name ^c."

It surely becomes us, therefore, to be cautious how we venture to apply these fearful prophecies to any who profess the name of Christ, however fallen from their first love, however corrupted by superstition or defiled by heresy. When Antichrist is come indeed, his presence will be known to the Church in such a manner as to identify him with the prophecies of Scripture beyond the possibility of question or mistake. If the penalty of obedience to him be no less than everlasting torment, doubt not, my brethren,

^b 2 Thes. ii. 11, 12.

^c Rev. xiv. 9—11.

that our Gracious Lord and Master will sufficiently make known, to all them that love Him, the presence of their deadly foe^d; and in the mean time let us not presume to desecrate these awful predictions to any polemical or party purpose; let us remember that the application of them to any body of professing Christians implies, not merely that our fallen brethren are corrupt in doctrine, and erroneous in their mode of worship, but that they are the synagogue of Satan, children of perdition, destined one and all, without exception, to dwell for ever with the devil and his angels, in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone.

Such, we are here expressly told, will be the awful lot of those who shall fall into the power of the true Antichrist; who are deceived by his miracles of falsehood, and persuaded by the deceivableness of his unrighteousness.

IV. We are now to make some general remarks, on this celebrated prophecy, with especial reference to its difficulties, and to the popular systems of in-

^d Mr. Maitland asks, "Can any man say that he really believes, and seriously wishes us to believe, that when God had pronounced so heavy a curse on every one who should worship the beast, or receive his mark, He actually concealed from His Church that most important fact, that the person or power whom they religiously believed to be their *spiritual* head, and the very

vicar of Christ upon earth, whom, under this view, they received with reverend honor and worship; whose mark they took upon them in simple faith that it was the seal of the living God; that this personage was indeed THE BEAST, the great enemy of their God and Saviour, whom they had been warned to resist even unto death?" Second Inquiry, p. 99.

terpretation which suppose it to have been already fulfilled.

1. In the first place, I would remark, that the Apostle seems to speak of the man of sin, the wicked one, the son of perdition, as an individual, or a person. The passage has been so understood by all the ancient commentators, and the use of the article in the original—ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀμαρτίας, ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας, ὁ ἀντικείμενος, ὁ ἄνομος,—strongly confirms this opinion. The prophecies of Daniel have already led us to a similar conclusion; we have seen that no reason exists for denying the personality of the king, foretold under so many emblems all implying that an individual is intended; and if this be so, it may well be taken as a presumptive argument against the modern interpretations of the prophecy we are now considering, which require us to understand “the man of sin,” “the son of perdition,” as words that predict only a system, a body corporate, or society of individuals.

These interpretations represent as symbolical a prophecy which contains no intimation whatsoever that it is expressed in figurative language; and the words, taken literally, not only imply that the man of sin is to be an individual, but it is also to be considered that the attributes of a person are distinctly ascribed to him; he is said to sit; to show himself as god; to exalt himself; and to be that wicked one, whom the Lord shall consume with the Spirit of His mouth, and destroy with the brightness of His coming. If language such as this does not imply personality, it

seems to me impossible, with any reasonable consistency, to maintain, that personality can be inferred from any language whatsoever.

2. It is also to be observed that the Apostle speaks of the main subject of the prophecy as if it were already well known to the Thessalonians; "that man of sin," "that wicked one," are expressions that of themselves would seem sufficiently to imply this, even though the Apostle had not said expressly, "Remember ye not that when I was yet with you, I told you these things?" and in fact, we have seen, that S. Paul in this prophecy has so clearly alluded to events that were already revealed in the book of Daniel, that if the Thessalonians had been reasonably familiar with that part of Scripture, they could not have been wholly ignorant, that the revelation of the man of sin was to precede the second coming of the Lord.

They appear, however, to have known something more than this; namely, that there was something, even then, as it would seem, in existence, which impeded the full revelation of the wicked one; for the Apostle says, "Ye know what withholdeth that he might be revealed in his time. For the mystery of iniquity doth already work, only he who now letteth will let, until he be taken out of the way ^f."

The place which this passage holds in the general argument of the epistle may perhaps be thus stated; the Thessalonians had erroneously expected an immediate

^c 2 Thess. ii. 5.

^f 2 Thess. ii. 6, 7.

coming of the day of Christ ; this error the Apostle corrects by reminding them first of the prophecies wherein it is foretold that "that day shall not come except there come a falling away first, and the man of sin be revealed ;" and secondly of a fact with which they were themselves acquainted, namely, that there then existed something which impeded the revelation of the man of sin ; if therefore the man of sin was not to be expected so long as this impediment existed ; and if the man of sin must be first revealed, in connexion with a general apostacy, before the second advent of the Lord, it is clear that the expectation of His immediate coming was unfounded and fallacious.

What this impediment (*τὸ κατέχον*) is, or was, although it seems to have been known to the Thessalonians, has not been preserved in the tradition of the Church, nor has any satisfactory explanation of the difficulty been proposed, so far as I know, by any of the commentators. Among the ancients, both Greeks and Latins, the most common opinion was that "what withholdeth" was the Roman empire ; that Antichrist was to arise on the ruins of that empire, after its division among ten kings, and that therefore, until the Roman power was at an end, the man of sin could not be revealed. They tell us also that this accounts for the veil of mystery which the Apostle appears to have thrown over this part of the prophecy ; and that a fear of giving offence to the Roman governors, withheld him from committing to writing, a truth that might perhaps have been inter-

preted to the disadvantage of the Christianity, and made to supply with new materials of calumny and persecution the enemies of the Christian name^s.

^s Thus, for example, St. Chrysostom :—

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦτο φησὶν, εἰκότως ᾔνισατο, καὶ τίως φησὶ συνισκισμένως· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐβούλετο περιστὰς ἔχθρας ἀναδίσχεται καὶ ἀνοήτους κινδύνους. Εἰ γὰρ εἴπῃ ὅτι μικρὸν ὕστερον καταλυθήσεται ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχή, ἥδη εὐθὺς αἱ αὐτὲς καὶ καταρῶναι ὡς λυμῖαινα, καὶ τοὺς πιστοὺς ἀπαντας, ὡς ἐπὶ τούτῳ ζῶντας καὶ στρατιωομένους. Hom. iv. in 2 Thes. tom. xi. p. 529, D. Ed. Bened. And S. Augustine, (De Civit. Dei, lib. xx. c. 19, n. 3,) "Quidam putant hoc de imperio dictum fuisse Romano; et propterea Paulum apostolum non id aperte scribere voluisse, ne calumniam videlicet incurreret, quod Romano imperio male optaverit, cum speraretur æternum." S. Jerome, (ad Algasiam, quæst. xi. Epist. 121, al. 151.) "Nec vult aperte dicere Romanum imperium destruendum, quod ipsi qui imperant, æternum putant. Unde secundum Apocalypsim Joannis, in fronte purpuratæ meretricis, scriptum est nomen blasphemias, id est, *Romæ eternæ*. Si enim aperte audacterque dixisset, non veniet Antichristus, nisi prius Romanum deleatur imperium, justa caussa persecutionis in orientem tunc ecclesiam con surgere videbatur."

The earliest writer to whom

has been traced the opinion, that the Roman empire was the τὸ κατίχον, is Tertullian. See his words, De resur. carnis, c. xxiv. quoted above p. 203, note.

In another place he says, (Apolog. c. xxxii.) "Est et alia major necessitas orandi pro imperatoribus, etiam pro omni statu imperii, rebusque Romanis, qui vim maximam universo orbi imminentem, ipsamque clausulam seculi acerbitates horrendas comminantem, Romani imperii commeatu scimus retardari. Itaque nolumus experiri, et dum precamur differri, Romanæ diuturnitati favemus." Dr. Burton suggests, (Bampton Lect. p. 403, note^d), that this opinion originated in Tertullian's Montanism; for predictions of the approaching ruin of the Roman empire appear to have been characteristic of Montanus, and to have formed one of the grounds on which Christians separated from him, lest they should be regarded as enemies of the state. "Quo tempore Montanus vaticinabatur," says Mosheim "Marco Aurelio Philosopho regnante, res Christianorum in maximis ubique periculis versabantur: quod supra pluribus ostendimus. Quamobrem vehementer providendum illis erat, ne quid vel loquerentur, vel docerent, vel agerent, quod Romani male inter-

But this opinion, notwithstanding its antiquity, and the great names that have given it their sanc-

pretari atque in accusationis argumentum convertere possent. Iste vero homo imprudens et mente captus multa prædicebat, quæ Romanis odiosissima erant, excidium nimirum urbis et imperii Romani, imminentem orbis terrarum interitum, bella, pestes, calamitates cito eventuras, terribilem Antichristi adventum: qualia qui inter Romanos canebant, in majestatem urbis et imperii Romani peccare videbantur, et capitali supplicio afficiebantur." De rebus ante Const. Sæc. II. sect. 67, note. (****) where he further shews that this was the reason why Christians rejected the prophecy of Montanus "de futuro judicio."

But, however this be, the fact is undeniable, that, in after ages, the opinion that the destruction of the Roman empire was intended by S. Paul in this prophecy, was very generally, though by no means universally received. Thus Lactantius (Instit. lib. vii. De vita beata, cap. 15.) "Tunc peragrabit clades orbem, metens omnia, et tanquam messem cuncta prosternens. Cujus vastitatis et confusionis hæc erit causa, quod Romanum nomen, quo nunc regitur orbis (horret animus dicere: sed dicam; quia futurum est) tolletur de terra; et imperium in Asiam revertetur; ac rursus oriens dominabitur, atque occidens serviet." S. Jerome. (Ep. 121,

ad Algasiam, quæst. xi.) "Nisi, inquit [Apostolus 2 Thes. ii.] fuerit Romanum imperium ante desolatum et Antichristus præcesserit, Christus non veniet." See also his Comm. in Dan. vii. 8. "Dicamus quod omnes Scriptores ecclesiastici tradiderunt: in consummatione mundi, quando regnum destruendum est Romanorum, decem futuros reges, &c." S. Ephraem Syrus (Sermo Ascet. Opp. tom. i. p. 44, C. Romæ. 1732.) Φοβηθῶμεν οὖν, ἀγαπητοί, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς τὰ αὐτὰ πάθωμεν. Τὰ γὰρ γεγραμμένα λοιπὸν ἐπληρώθησαν, καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα σημεῖα τέλος ἔχει, καὶ οὐκ ἐστὶν ἔτι λοιπὸν, εἰ μὴ τὰ τοῦ ἔχθρου ἡμῶν τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου. Εἰς γὰρ τὸ τέλος τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλείας, δι' τὰ πάντα πληρωθῆναι. It would be easy to multiply similar authorities, especially from later ecclesiastical writers, (See Malvenda, De Antichristo, lib. iv. cap. 14.) many of whom appear to have held this opinion in connexion with the common exposition of Daniel's fourth monarchy, which, as we have seen, was generally understood of the Roman empire. Yet, a very little consideration will convince the reader that the two opinions are totally irreconcilable, for these writers all admit that Antichrist is to be an eleventh king of the fourth monarchy, before whom three of the previously existing ten kings shall fall and be

tion, must now be considered as having long ago been refuted by time. The Roman empire is now extinct, and no potentate possessing the character and marks of Antichrist has as yet been manifested in the earth.^a

The same objection applies to another ancient opinion, which supposes the existence of the miraculous gifts of the Holy Ghost in the Church to be that which hindered the revelation of the man of sin. For here too, time has shewn the inadequacy of this interpretation; the miraculous gifts of the Spirit have long ago been withdrawn, but the apostacy and the antichrist are yet to come¹.

rooted up; if therefore we are to understand from S. Paul's prophecy that the Roman empire must be destroyed before Antichrist can be revealed, it is clear that the Roman empire cannot be the fourth monarchy. This is, for substance, the argument employed by Theodoret for rejecting the interpretation which makes τὸ κατέχον the Roman empire; ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν βασιλείαν ἐτέρα διαδίχεται βασιλεία. Διὰ γὰρ τοῦ τιτάρετος θεοῦ καὶ ὁ θυστάτος Δανιὴλ τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἡνίκατο βασιλείαν· ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τὸ μικρὸν κίρας ἰβλάσθησι, τὸ ποιοῦν πόλεμον μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων. Ἀυτὸς δὲ οὗτος ἵστι, περὶ οὗ τὰ προῤῥηθέντα ἔλπιεν ὁ θύος ἀπόστολος. Comment. in 2 Thess. ii. 6.

^a So Estius (Comm. in loco) "Ita quidem illi qui stante Romano imperio scripserunt: sed hanc opinionem ipsa jam-

dudum experientia redargui monstravimus eodem loco;" scil. in comm. ad ver. 3. where he says, speaking of the opinion which supposes the apostacy to mean the divisions of the Roman empire, "Sed aliis non placet hæc interpretatio, primum quoniam, uti testatur Thomas et Lyranus, et res ipsa probat, jam olim a Romano imperio gentes quæque ei subiectæ erant, desciverunt: solumque pene nomen Imperii Romani hodie reliquum habemus, nec tamen venit Antichristus, quem venturum statim post apostasiam apostolus significat."

¹ Ζητήσμεν ἂν τις πρῶτον ἐκώτας, τί ποτε ἵστι τὸ κατέχον, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα μαθεῖν τί δήποτε ἀσφαλῶς οὕτως αὐτὸ τίθησιν ὁ Παῦλος. τί δή ποτ' οὖν ἵστι τὸ κατέχον ἀποκαλυφθῆναι αὐτὸν, τουτίστι, τὸ κωλύον; οἱ μὲν τοῦ πνεύματος τὴν χάριν

Another interpretation of some antiquity is, that the man of sin cannot be revealed until, according to our Lord's prediction, "the Gospel of the kingdom be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations," for then, as our Lord tells us, and, we may therefore fairly suppose, not till then, shall "the end" come¹. This opinion, however, has not had very numerous followers; it is not indeed open to the objection which I have urged against the former interpretations, but it fails to account for the mystery with which the Apostle seems designedly to have expressed himself, and no sufficient reason has been given why that particular sign, of the universal preaching of the gospel, should be intended, to the exclusion of all the other signs of our Lord's coming.

If therefore, to meet this objection, we take in the

Φασιν, οἱ δὲ τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἀρχήν· οἷς ἔγωγε μάλιστα τίθιμαι· διὰ τί; ὅτι εἰ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐβούλετο εἰπεῖν, οὐκ ἂν εἴπων ἄσαφώς, ἀλλὰ φανερώς, ὅτι καὶ νῦν αὐτὸν κατέχει ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος χάρις, τουτίστι, τὰ χαρίσματα. ἄλλως δὲ ἔδει ἤδη παραγινέσθαι, εἴγε ἔμελλε τῶν χαρισμάτων ἐκλιπόντων παραγινέσθαι· καὶ γὰρ πάλαι ἐκλείοιπιν.—Chrysost. Hom. iv. in 2 Thess. cap. ii. 6, tom. xi. p. 529. Ed. Bened. Theodoret (Comm. in 2 Thes. ii. 6,) states this opinion in another form, as if the impediment were the grace of the Spirit generally, and not exclusively miraculous operations; and refutes it thus; τινες δὲ [ἐνόησαν] τὴν χάριν τοῦ πνεύματος. κατεχού-

σης γὰρ, φῆσι, τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος χάριτος, ἐκείνος οὐ παραγίνεται. πῶς γὰρ ἔνιστοι τῶν ἐκείνου παραγινέσθαι μηχανημάτων τοὺς τῆς πνευματικῆς ἐπικουρίας ἐστειρημένους.

¹ Matt. xxiv. 14. This interpretation is given by Theodoret (Comm. in loc.) Οἶμαι δὲ καὶ ἑτέραν ἔχειν διάνοιαν τὸ εἰρητὸν· μεταβηκώς γὰρ ὁ θῆσος Ἀπόστολος εἰρηκέναι τὸν κύριον, ὡς κερυχθῆναι διὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, καὶ τότε γίνεσθαι τὸ τέλος· ὅρων δὲ κρατοῦσαν ἔτι τῶν εἰδώλων τὴν βεραπίαν, τῇ διποτικῇ διδασκαλίᾳ ἐπόμενος ἔφη, πρότερον καταλυθῆσθαι τῆς δισειδαιμονίας τὸ κράτος, καὶ πανταχοῦ διαλαμπῆναι τὸ σάτῃον κήρυγμα, καὶ τότε φανήσθαι τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀντίπαλον.

other signs revealed in prophecy, which must all alike be fulfilled before the end come, we are led to an interpretation that has been proposed by some modern commentators. They tell us that the Apostle here alludes to the apostacy and its concomitant events, which must precede, as he had just been arguing, the coming of the man of sin ; and that therefore when he says, "ye know what withholdeth," he does not necessarily refer to any revelation previously given to the Thessalonians in his oral teaching, but to the reasoning in which he was then engaged ; so that the meaning is, "ye know, from what has just been said, that the apostacy must first come, before the man of sin can be revealed ; it is not necessary therefore further to explain to you what it is that withholdeth or delayeth his appearing ^k."

But without attempting to discuss the relative merits of this and other interpretations, I would remark that the difficulty of explaining satisfactorily the real meaning of the Apostle, has been fully acknowledged by the most eminent ancient expositors ; I am therefore, on the whole, inclined to believe, that S. Paul alluded to a revelation made by him orally to

^k This is for substance the interpretation suggested by Estius, (Comm. in loc.) "Proinde, si quid in re tam obscura dicendum est, videtur Apostolus ἀποστασίαι, de qua supra locutus est, significare velle ; quæ quoniam res admodum tristis est, et odiosa, non erat hic nominatim repetenda. Scitis, inquit, partim ex sermone meo

coram habito, partim ex antedictis, quid remoretur adventum illius hominis peccati : non enim revelabitur nisi prius apostasia seu discessio venerit. Nam non solum oportet apostasiam præcedere diem Domini, verum etiam adventum Antichristi ; hic enim ordo supra significatus est."

the Thessalonians, which our heavenly Father has not seen fit to preserve to future ages of His Church; and perhaps there were reasons which made it meet that such knowledge should continue in the Church only whilst the Apostles, or they who had received it from the lips of the Apostles, were alive.

Certain however it is, that from the earliest times this passage was referred to as a mystery, wherein the Church had no authentic tradition to guide her to its true interpretation; and although a large majority of the ancients explained it, as we have seen, of the Roman empire, yet they did not put forward this opinion as of Apostolic origin, or as pretending to any higher authority than it may have derived from the reputation of the individual doctors, whose sanction gave it currency. Thus we find that St. Augustine, although he mentions this and several other interpretations of the passage, does not hesitate to admit that he knew not its real meaning; and St. Chrysostom, who inclines to the common opinion, speaks of it notwithstanding as dark and doubtful; while Theodoret rejects that opinion altogether, and proposes two different conjectures, in words which manifestly show that no one received or approved interpretation was then current in the Christian Church¹. It is therefore

¹ St. Augustine's words are very remarkable; "Quod autem ait, *Et nunc quid detineat scitis*, id est, quid sit in mora, quæ causa sit dilationis ejus, *ut reveletur in suo tempore*, scitis: quoniam scire illos dixit, aperte hoc dicere

noluit. Et ideo nos qui nescimus quod illi sciebant, pervenire cum labore ad id quod sensit Apostolus, cupimus, nec valemus: præsertim quia et illa quæ addidit, hunc sensum faciunt obscuriorem. Nam quid est, *Jam mysterium ini-*

no disgrace to us upon whom the ends of the world are come, to be compelled to acknowledge our igno-

quitatis operatur. Tantum qui modo tenet teneat, donec de medio fiat; et tunc revelabitur iniquus? Ego prorsus quid dixerit, me fateor ignorare. Suspiciones tamen hominum, quas vel audire, vel legere potui, non tacebo." De Civit. Dei, lib. xx. c. 19, n. 2. St. Chrysostom's words have been already quoted, (see note¹ page 238,); and Theodoret (Comm. in loc.) after refuting two opinions, namely, the opinion that the τὸ κατήχον was the grace of the Spirit, and the opinion that it was the Roman empire, (see note² page 238.) adds, οὐδέτεροι τούτων οἶμαι φάναι τὸν βίον ἀπόστολον, ἀλλὰ τὸ παρ' ἐτέρων ἠερμένον ἀληθὲς εἶναι ὑπολαμβάνω. ἰδοὺ μαστὶ γὰρ ὁ τῶν ὅλων Θεὸς παρὰ τὸν τῆς συνταξίας αὐτῶν ὁφθῆναι καιρὸν. ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ τοίνυν αὐτὸν ὅρος νῦν ἐπέχει φανῆναι. Οἶμαι δὲ κ. τ. λ. then follow the words already quoted note¹ page 239. These passages are adduced to show that none of the interpretations of this prophecy given by ancient writers, do so much as pretend to be of Apostolic origin; and therefore, that if we suppose St. Paul to have orally communicated to the Thessalonians the knowledge of this mystery, the tradition has long since perished in the Christian Church.

It is also evident, that those modern writers have expressed themselves with great inaccu-

racy, who speak of this opinion as "the tradition of the Church," and tell us, (I quote Mr. Faber's words, Sacred Calendar, vol. i. p. 87, and p. 90,) that "we find an *unanimous* persuasion among the Fathers, that the impediment, thus darkly alluded to in the written prophecy, was the Roman empire." It will be seen even from the passages I have quoted, that the fathers were very far from being *unanimous* on this subject, and that the doctrine is no where treated by them as a tradition of the Church.

It is necessary to notice this misstatement from the prominent place it holds in the reasoning by which Mr. Faber conducts his readers to the supposed discovery of the mysterious impediment.—He says, (ibid. p. 99,) "Since the Apostle himself assures us that he had *TOLD* the Thessalonians what the impediment was; common sense may teach us, that the universal persuasion in the primitive Church *must* have originated from a communication with the Thessalonians. But it *could not* have originated from such a communication, unless St. Paul had actually told the Thessalonians that the impediment was the Roman empire." He afterwards thus explains and modifies this conclusion, (p. 100,) "The Apostle, I more

rance of a mystery which these great masters of theology and of the Scriptures confessed themselves unable to clear up. Better for an expositor to admit his inability to give any full or satisfactory elucidation of such difficulties, than to expose himself to the danger of adding to, or taking away from, the sacred words of God^m.

than suspect, told the Thessalonians, not that the *Roman empire itself* was the impediment, but **THE COERCING POWER OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, OR THE COERCING LAW OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE**; for he speaks of the impediment, both in the neuter and in the masculine form." And again, "Such, partly from broken hints in the written prophecy, and partly from the constant tradition of the Church, that the Apostle had mentioned the Roman empire to the Thessalonians, we may, I think, clearly enough collect to have been the purport of his oral communication:" "Hence, arose the universally prevalent belief in the primitive Church that **THE ROMAN EMPIRE** was the impediment, &c." p. 101.

^m It is not necessary for my present purpose to examine all the theories that have been proposed to explain this passage. It is enough if the remarks that have been made have convinced the reader, that the knowledge communicated orally (as the great majority of interpreters suppose) by the Apostle to the Thessalonians,

has long since ceased to be preserved in the tradition of the Church. The language of the ancients evidently shows that they were not aware of the existence of any such tradition, and it need scarcely be said that the interpretations proposed by modern writers lay no claim to apostolical authority.

I may mention here, however, some opinions that seem particularly deserving of attention. Dr. Burton, (Bampton Lect. Note 48, p. 399,) suggests that *that which withholdeth*, may have been the existence of the original apostles. He says, "I therefore conceive St. Paul to allude to a great defection of Christians to the Gnostic doctrines, which took place in the interval between St. Paul's death, and the end of the first century. The Gnostic doctrines had been propagated long before, as is declared by St. Paul, when he says, *the mystery of iniquity doth already work*: but it does not appear, that they spread among Christians. The professors of Gnosticism had generally anticipated the preachers of the Gospel; and while the apostles were alive,

3. The next clause of the prophecy presents similar difficulties. "The mystery of iniquity," says the

and particularly Saint Paul, the Christian converts continued firm. In those words, *ye know what withholdeth, and he who now letteth will let, until he be taken out of the way*, St. Paul evidently alluded to something, which the Thessalonians understood, having heard of it before from him, but which he did not now choose to mention. He may perhaps have intended himself, and the other apostles, all of whom, except St. John, were *taken out of the way*, before the great *falling away* took place: and though St. John appears to have seen the beginning of the apostacy, it probably did not break out till he was *taken away* by being banished to Patmos." It may suffice to say in reply to this theory, that it is wholly inconsistent with the Apostle's argument, unless we suppose "the day of Christ" to have come at the end of the first century. If therefore we be permitted to modify this part of Dr. Burton's theory to meet this objection, it will be found to coincide very nearly with an opinion put forward by Bishop Jeremy Taylor, viz.: that the existence of the Apostolic order, or in other words, the episcopacy of the Church, is *that which withholdeth* the revelation of Antichrist. In his "Episcopacy asserted," Introd. p. 4—6, he says, "For

if Antichrist shall exalt himself above all that is called God, and in Scripture none but kings and priests are such, 'dii vocati, dii facti,' I think we have great reason to be suspicious, that he that divests both of their power, (and they are, if the king be Christian, in very near conjunction,) does the work of Antichrist for him; especially if the men, whom it most concerns, will but call to mind, that the discipline or government which Christ hath instituted, is that kingdom by which he governs all Christendom (so themselves have taught us;) so that, in case it be proved that episcopacy is that government, then they (to use their own expressions,) throw Christ out of his kingdom; and then, either they leave the Church without a head, or else put Antichrist in substitution." And again, "Is it not next to an evidence of fact, that this multiplication of schisms must be 'removendo prohibens?' And therefore, that must be by invalidating episcopacy, ordained as the remedy and obex of schism, either tying their hands behind them, by taking away their coercion, or by putting out their eyes, by denying them cognizance of causes spiritual, or by cutting off their heads, and so destroying their order. How far these will lead us I leave to be considered. This

Apostle, "doth already work: only he who now letteth will let, until he be taken out of the way." Commentators, ancient as well as modern, seem very generally to admit that "he who now letteth, ὁ κατέχων," must be considered identical with what was before mentioned in a neuter form, as "that which withholdeth, τὸ κατέχον;" but they differ widely in their interpretation of the words "the mystery of iniquity doth already work."

only: 'Percute pastores, atque oves dispergentur;' and I believe it will be verified at the coming of that wicked one; 'I saw all Israel scattered upon the mountains as sheep having no shepherd.' I am not new in this conception, I learned it of Saint Cyprian: 'Christi adversarius et ecclesiæ ejus inimicus, ad hoc, ecclesiæ præpositum suâ infestatione persequitur, ut gubernatore sublato, atrocius atque violentius circa ecclesiæ naufragia grassetur.' (Epist. 55.) 'The adversary of Christ, and enemy of his spouse, therefore persecutes the bishop, that having taken him away, he may, without check, pride himself in the ruins of the Church,' and a little after, speaking of them that are enemies to bishops, he says, that 'Antichristi jam propinquantis adversum imitantur:' 'Their depopulation is just after the guise of Antichrist, who is shortly to be revealed.'"

Mr. Crosthwaite has quoted this passage in the notes to his

Sermon on the Christian Ministry, (pages 32—34,) and in the Sermon itself (page 30) he thus expresses his own views: "It is the peculiar character and office of the Church of Christ, to testify of Him and His dominion before the world, and this testimony, if it be borne with firmness and consistency, is the very salt of the earth, to preserve the whole world from the overspreading of the Antichristian principle. Nay, for aught we know to the contrary, this testimony may be that very thing which *letteth* and preventeth the revelation of the Man of Sin.—While the Church is thus proclaiming the sovereignty of the Son of God, from day to day, it may be impossible for Satan to reduce the human race to an uniformity of error. While this single ray of light is gleaming from the candlestick in which God has placed it, it may be out of the range of the powers of darkness to involve the whole world in that total eclipse."

Amongst the ancients there were very many who believed "the mystery of iniquity" to be the Roman emperor Nero, whose infamous impieties, it must be admitted, gave him no ordinary claim to such a title; and this opinion, which probably originated during the lifetime of that emperor, combined with an impression that prevailed after his death, that he was not really dead, but concealed in some unknown place, for the purpose of effecting greater mischief, seems to have given rise to an expectation widely spread in ancient times, that Nero would again appear, at the end of the world, in the person of Antichrist ⁿ.

ⁿ The opinion that Nero was concealed, or at least that he would revive and resume the throne, was current in the Roman empire for some time after his death, and gave a handle to many impostors to personate him. Suetonius says, (in Nerone, c. 57.) "Non defuerunt qui per longum tempus vernis æstivisque floribus tumulum ejus ornarent: ac modo imagines prætextatas in rostris profferrent, modo edicta, quasi viventis, et brevi magno inimicorum malo reversuri." And Tacitus, (Hist. lib. ii. c. 8.) "Sub idem tempus Achaia atque Asia falso exterritæ, velut Nero adventaret: vario super exitu ejus rumore, eoque pluribus vivere eum fingentibus, credentibusque."

These rumours, combined with the fact that Nero was the first Roman emperor who

persecuted the Church, were evidently the origin of the opinion so prevalent in Christendom, that he was to re-appear before the coming of Antichrist, and begin or assist at its last persecution also. Lactantius thus accounts for this opinion, (De mort. persecut. c. 2.) "Dejectus itaque fastigio imperii ac devolutus a summo tyrannus impotens, nusquam repente comparuit, ut ne sepulturæ quidem locus in terram malæ bestię appareret. Unde illum quidem deliri credunt esse translatum ac vivum reservatum, Sybilla dicente matricidam profugum a finibus esse venturum, ut quia primus persecutus est, idem etiam novissimus persequatur et Antichristi præcedat adventum." p. 41, sq. Ed. Paul. Baudricum. notis variorum. Traj. ad Rhen. 1692.

Others, however, with more reason, conceived that "the mystery of iniquity" denoted *heresy*, the seeds

S. Martin of Tours, in the latter half of the fourth century, if his opinion has been fairly reported by Sulpitius Severus, thought that Nero would appear in the West, and at the same time Antichrist in the East, that the former should be destroyed by the latter.—“*Cæterum cum ab eo [B. Martino,] de fine sæculi quæreretur, ait nobis, Neronem et Antichristum prius esse venturos: Neronem in Occidentali plaga regibus subactis decem imperaturum, persecutionem autem ab eo hactenus exercendam, ut idola gentium coli cogat. Ab Antichristo vero Orientale imperium esse capiendum: qui quidem sedem et caput regni Hierosolymam esset habiturus: ab illo urbem et templum esse reparandum. Illius eam persecutionem futuram esse, ut Christum Dominum cogat negari, se potius Christum esse confirmans: omnesque secundum legem circumcidi jubeat. Et ipsum denique Neronem ab Antichristo esse perimendum: atque sub illius potestate universum orbem, cunctasque gentes esse redigendas: donec adventu Christi impius opprimatur.*” (Dialog. ii. p. 306. Amst. Elzevir. 1656.)

Others however, seem to have thought that Nero revived, or preserved alive to the end of the world, would be himself the Antichrist; and

it is remarkable that this opinion continued to have advocates even in the fourth and fifth centuries. Victorinus (A.D. 303,) in his commentary on the Apocalypse (Bibl. P.P. Lugd. tom. iii. p. 420,) in allusion to Rev. xiii. 3, says, “*Unum autem de capitibus occisum in morte et plaga mortis ejus curata est, Neronem dicit. Constant enim, dum insequeretur eum equitatus missus a senatu, ipsum gladium sibi gulam succidisse. Hunc ergo suscitatum Deus mittet regem dignum dignis, et Christum qualem meruerunt Judæi.*” Sulpitius Severus seems to have favored the same opinion, for he says in his History (lib. ii. p. 94,) speaking of Nero. “*Qui non dicam regum sed omnium hominum, et vel immanium bestiarum sordidissimus, dignus extitit, qui persecutionem in Christianos primus inieperet: nescio an et postremus explevit; siquidem opinione multorum receptum sit, ipsum Antichristum venturum.*” And again (p. 96.) “*Incertum an ipse sibi mortem consciverit. Certe corpus illius interemptum. Unde creditur, etiamsi se gladio ipse transfixerit, curato vulnere ejus servatus: secundum illud quod de eo scriptum est: [Apoc. xiii. 3.] Et plaga mortis ejus curata est; sub sæculi fine mittendus ut mysterium iniquitatis excerceat.*”

of which had even then begun to spring, in the very presence of the Apostles, and which is destined ultimately to attain its full maturity under the reign of Antichrist. Hence, the ancients commonly speak of heretics or separatists, as precursors and members of Antichrist; as being in some sort Antichrists themselves, and exhibiting to the Church the foretaste or symbol of the great apostacy°.

Others, however, consider "the mystery of iniquity" as fulfilled in Nero only as a *type* of Antichrist: Thus St. Chrysostom (Hom. iv. in 2 Thes. tom. xi. p. 529.) Τὸ γὰρ μυστήριον ἡδὴ ἐνεργεῖται τῆς ἀνομίας. Νερώνα ἰσταῦθά φησιν, ὥσπερ τύπον ὅντα τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου· καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἐβούλετο νομίσθαι θεός. The same opinion seems to have been maintained by St. Jerome (Ep. 121, ad Algasiam, qu. 11.) "Quodque sequitur: *Jam enim mysterium operatur iniquitatis*, &c., hunc habet sensum: Multis malis atque peccatis, quibus Nero impurissimus Cæsarum mundum premit, Antichristi parturitur adventus, et quod ille operaturus est postea, in isto ex parte completur, &c." And again (Comm. in Dan. xi. 30.)—"Unde multi nostrorum putant ob sævitiae, et turpitudinis magnitudinem, Domitium Neronem Antichristum fore."

St. Augustine mentions the existence of these opinions in his time, but condemns them; and he seems to have considered them as connected in their origin with the doctrine

that the τὸ κατ'ἔχον was the Roman empire. His words are, "Quidam putant hoc de imperio dictum fuisse Romano; et propterea Paulum Apostolum non id aperte scribere voluisse, ne calumniam videlicet incurreret, quod Romano imperio male optaverit, cum speraretur æternum; ut hoc quod dixit, *Jam enim mysterium iniquitatis operatur*, Neronem voluerit intelligi, cujus jam facta velut Antichristi videbantur. Unde nonnulli ipsum resurrecturum, et futurum Antichristum suspicantur. Alii vero nec occisum putant, sed subtractum potius, ut putaretur occisus; et vivum occultari in vigore ipsius ætatis, in qua fuit, cum crederetur extinctus, donec suo tempore reveletur, et restitatur in regnum. Sed multum mihi mirum est hæc opinantium tanta præsumptio." De civit. Dei, l. xx. c. 19. n. 3. See Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. i. p. 33. Baronius annal. ad an. 70. n. 4, 5, and Gresswell on the Parables, vol. i. p. 387, 8.

° These expressions often

This latter opinion has been in substance adopted by many modern writers; who differ, however, widely in their application of it to the interpretation of the prophecy. Some suppose that the heretics and heresies of the Apostolic age,—Simon Magus, for example, and the Gnostics,—were here predicted, and that we are to look for no other fulfilment of the Apostle's language^p; but others conceive that the

occur in S. Cyprian, see Epist. ad Magnum, (Ed. Bened. lxxvi. Oxon. lxi.) where he says of Novatian, “nec debet nec potest excipi quo minus ipse quoque extra ecclesiam consistens, et contra pacem ac dilectionem Christi faciens, inter adversarios et Antichristos computetur.” See another passage quoted above, p. 98, note^m. S. Gregory the Great, in enumerating the members and precursors of Antichrist, begins with Cain; “Cain tempus Antichristi non vidit, et tamen membrum Antichristi per meritum fuit. Judas sævitiam persecutionis illius ignoravit, et tamen viribus crudelitatis ejus, avaritia suadente succubuit. Simon divisus longe ab Antichristi temporibus extitit, et tamen ejus se superbiam, miraculorum potentiam perverse appetendo, conjunxit. Hinc Johannes ait: *Nunc Antichristi multi facti sunt*, quia iniqui omnes jam ejus membra sunt, quæ scilicet perverse edita caput suum male vivendo prævenerunt. Hinc Paulus ait: *Ut reveletur in suo tempore; nam mysterium jam opera-*

tur iniquitatis. Ac si diceret; Tunc Antichristus manifestus videbitur; nam in cordibus iniquorum secreta sua jam nunc occultus operatur.” Moral. lib. xxix. n. 15. (tom. i. col. 923, c. 924, A. Ed. Bened.) Theodoret (Comm. in loco.) gives a similar exposition of the passage; he says, Τινες τὸν Νέρωνα ἔφασαν κληθῆναι τῆς ἀνομίας μυστήριον, καὶ δυσσεβείας ἐργάτην γενημένον. ἐγὼ δὲ οἶμαι τὰς ἀναφυέσας αἰρέσεις δηλοῦν τὸν ἀπὸστολον. δι' ἐκείνων γὰρ ὁ διάβολος πολλοὺς ἀποστήσας τῆς ἀληθείας, προκατασκευάζει τῆς ἀπάτης τὸν ὄλεθρον. μυστήριον δὲ αὐτοῦς ἀνομίας ἐκάλεσεν, ὡς κικρυμμένην ἔχοντας τῆς ἀνομίας τὴν πύλην. S. Irenæus l. i. c. 13, (ed. Bened. al. c. 8,) n. 1, speaking of the heretic Mark, says, “vereque prækursorem Antichristi se præstitit;” ὡς πρέδρομος ὃν ἀλλθῶς τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου ἀποδίδικται. And S. Jerome in Matt. xxiv. 5. “Ego reor omnes hæresiarchos Antichristos esse, et sub nomine Christi ea docere, quæ contraria sunt Christo.” It would be easy to multiply similar passages to almost any length.

^p Dr. Burton (Bampton Lec-

heresies of the first three centuries are alluded to only so far as they may be considered types, and as it were

tures, p. 397) thus states and comments on some of the most remarkable of these opinions ; "Some writers have supposed the words of St. Paul in 2 Thess. ii. 3—12, to allude to Simon Magus. Grotius was a strenuous supporter of this interpretation, though he only referred v. 8—12 to Simon, and the preceding part of the passage to the emperor Caligula. He supposed the *falling away* to mean the great impiety of the emperor, who was the *man of sin* and the *son of perdition*. The *mystery of iniquity* was his attempt to have his statue erected in the temple of God at Jerusalem : and he who now *letteth* was L. Vitellius, the governor of Judæa, who did not second this impiety of his master. The *wicked one* mentioned in v. 8, was Simon Magus, whose *signs and lying wonders* are described in v. 9—11 ; and the *Lord consumed him with the Spirit of his mouth*, when St. Peter vanquished him in Rome. Grotius was followed by Hammond, [Dissert. 1, Proem. de Antichristo, c. 9, p. 25,] who referred the whole of the passage to Simon Magus. He understood the *coming of Christ*, mentioned in v. 1, 2, to mean the destruction of Jerusalem. The *falling away*, in v. 3, is either the turning of the Apostles from the Jews to the Gentiles, or some remarkable de-

fection of Christians to the ranks of the Gnostics. The *man of sin*, &c., is Simon Magus, who is said by the Fathers, as in v. 4, to have *made himself God*. That which *letteth*, or which hindered Simon from openly declaring himself, was the still remaining attachment of the Christians to the law of Moses : and Hammond says, that the Gnostics did not openly join the Jews in persecuting the Christians, till the latter had entirely cast off Judaism ; and then the Gnostics, together with the Jews, were punished by God, and *consumed with the spirit of his mouth* at the destruction of Jerusalem.—Grotius was answered by P. Molinæus, (du Moulin,) under the name of Hippolytus Fronto, by Jonas Slichtingius, under the name of Johannes Simplicius, and by Maresius, (Des Marets.) He defended his interpretation in an Appendix to his Annotations ; and Maresius again replied to him in a work entitled, *Concordia discors et Antichristus revelatus*. Ittigius also declares himself unfavourable to the interpretation adopted by Grotius ; and it will perhaps be generally allowed that the notion of Hammond is less improbable, which explains the whole passage of one and the same person. I cannot, however, see the slightest reason for supposing,

shadows, of the future Apostacy; as containing within them the seeds and beginnings of those impious and still more formidable blasphemies, which are hereafter to be fully developed under the sway of Antichrist.

The former class of these expositions,—which supposes the prophecy to have been absolutely fulfilled in the apostacy of the Jewish nation, and in the heresies of the apostolic age; and which requires us to believe that the destruction of Jerusalem was foretold under the figure of our Lord's coming,—appears to me so entirely irreconcilable with the argument of St. Paul in this and the former epistle, as to be altoge-

that St. Paul intended to allude particularly or exclusively to Simon Magus. If he had done so, his Epistle would have had any thing rather than the effect of quieting the fears of the Thessalonians concerning the *day of Christ*. The rapid success of Simon Magus, which followed soon after the writing of this Epistle, would have proved to them still more that *the day was at hand*. But if Simon Magus was *the man of sin*, *the mystery of iniquity* had been already at work for some time. This Epistle was probably written in 47, or sixteen years after the first meeting of St. Peter and Simon Magus; during the whole of which period, there is reason to suppose that Simon was propagating his *lying wonders*. It will be remembered also, that Caligula died in 41; so that St. Paul could not possibly allude to the profanation which

that Emperor meditated in the temple of Jerusalem: nor would that profanation have so greatly affected the converts at Thessalonica." Dr. Burton's own opinion has been already noticed, note^m page 243.

Wetstein supposes the man of sin to be Titus, or the Flavian family; his words are, "non intelligo pontificem Romanum, qui nec unus est, qualem designat pronomen demonstrativum, ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀμαρτίας, ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας, ὁ ἀντικείμενος, ter repetitum, nec se Deum facit, nec in templo Dei sedet, neque quicquam negotii cum Thessalonicensibus aut eorum posteris habet, com. 5, 6. Non Caium, qui ante scriptam hanc epistolam jam perierat. Nec Simonem Gioræ aut Judæum aliquem impostorem, quorum nemo sibi Dei majestatem arrogavit. Nec Simonem Magum, cui nihil rei erat cum Thessalonicensibus, quique in templo nunquam fuit;

ther unworthy of our attention^a. For surely the coming of the Lord of which S. Paul had spoken in his first Epistle, was manifestly that which was to

sed Titum sive domum Flavi-
am." Annot. in 2 Thess. ii. 4.

^a Whitby understands by the apostacy the revolt of the Jews from the Romans, which led to the destruction of their city and nation, and by the man of sin, the Jewish people. And although he admits that *παγεσσωρια*, in ver. 1, refers to the literal coming of the Lord at the day of judgment, yet he interprets the same word in ver. 8, of the destruction of Jerusalem. See his commentary on the chapter.

Lightfoot appears to have supposed a twofold fulfilment of the prophecy, corresponding to the twofold interpretation given by many commentators to the coming of Christ; that as the prophecies of Christ's coming were primarily fulfilled in the destruction of Jerusalem, so the prophecies of the apostacy and of Antichrist's coming were fulfilled primarily at that period; although they have also received a further accomplishment in the papacy, and will hereafter be completely fulfilled at the literal coming of the Lord; his words are: "Now, what the Apostle meaneth, when he speaketh of one that letteth (ver. 6. 'And now ye know what withholdeth;' and ver. 7, 'He that now letteth, will let,') is of some obscurity; we may, without offence, give this con-

jecture: As the term, 'the day of the Lord,' is taken in Scripture, especially in this double sense, for 'his day of judging the Jewish nation,' and for 'his day of judging all the world;' so are we to understand 'a falling away,' and 'a man of sin' of the Jewish nation before the former; and 'a falling away,' and 'antichrist' betwixt the former and latter. This last is readily concluded upon to be the papacy: and 'he that letteth' to mean the imperial power; but what was he that letteth in the former, that the Antichrist among the Jews was not revealed sooner? I should divide this stake betwixt Claudius the emperor (who by his decree against the Jews in Rome, gave a check, by the appearance of his displeasure, to all the Jews elsewhere, that they durst not tyrannize against the Gospel, whilst he lived, as they had done), and Paul himself; who, by his incessant travelling in the gospel, and combatting by the truth every where against the Jews, did keep down very much their delusions and apostacy, whilst he was at liberty and abroad; but when he was once laid up, then all went to ruin; as see Acts, xx. 29: 2 Tim. i. 15, &c." Harmony of the New Test. (Works, by Pitman; vol. iii. p. 233, 4.)

be followed immediately by the resurrection of the dead, wherein “the Lord Himself shall descend from heaven, with a shout, with the voice of the Archangel, and with the trump of God^r;” and that the same phrase in the second epistle is to be understood in the same sense, is evident from “the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ” being spoken of in connexion with “our gathering together unto Him^s.” Nor is it easy to see why the Thessalonians, a Gentile Church, so far removed from dependence on Judæa, should have been “shaken in mind, and troubled,” with apprehensions of the immediate destruction of Jerusalem, or how the apostle’s effort to remove those apprehensions can be reconciled with the fact, that the event which caused them such alarm actually did take place within four or five years after the receipt of this epistle^t.

Yet this untenable hypothesis, that the coming of the day of Christ meant only the destruction of Jerusalem, is necessary to the theories which suppose “the man of sin” to have appeared in the apostolic age; for if it be admitted, that by the day of Christ is meant the day of His coming to judge the world,

^r 1 Thes. iv. 16.

^s 2 Thes. ii. 1.

^t This objection has been suggested by Natalis Alexander, in 2 Thes. ii. 1. Sens. literal. (Comm. in omnes Epistolas, tom. ii. p. 19, fol. Venet. 1768.) “*Adventum Domini, et diem Domini*: de excidio Hierosolymitano, perperam quidam recentiores intelligunt, et toto

cœlo aberrant ab Apostoli sensu. Quis enim terrori locus in animis Christianorum, si de Judæorum excidio agebatur? Quid Macedoniæ cum Judæa, Thessaloniciæ cum Hierosolymis? Quid commune Christianis cum periculo infidelium et Christo rebellium Judæorum, quod ipsis potius solatio futurum erat.”

and "to gather together His elect from the four winds, and from one end of heaven to the other", it will be impossible to suppose the prophecy fulfilled; since there is no one particular more manifestly revealed in it, than that the destruction of the Antichrist is to be effected by the coming of the Lord: that the wicked or lawless one is to be "consumed by the Spirit of His mouth, and destroyed with the brightness of His coming."

The other interpretations are more consistent with the argument of the Apostle, and with the judgment of antiquity respecting it. They amount to this, that in the Apostolic age heresies had appeared, which contained within them, as it were in embryo, the seeds and elements of the great apostacy; that their full development was then impeded by the existence of an obstacle, which seems to have been known to the Thessalonians, although we may be now unable to determine with certainty what it was; and that the removal of this impediment will be immediately followed by the revelation of the man of sin^v.

^u Matt. xxiv. 31.

^v Calmet (Comm. lit. in 2 Thes., ii. 7.) thus speaks of this class of commentators: "D'autres [Syrus, Estius, Gagnæus, Cornel. a Lapide Menocchius] croient que ce *mystère d'iniquité*, signifie le symbole de l'iniquité de l'ante-Christ, la figure, la représentation de ses persécutions contre les saints. Ainsi tous les

persécuteurs de l'Eglise, les Nérons, les Domitien, les Décus, les Dioclétiens, les hérétiques sont des images de l'Ante-Christ; ils opèrent le mystère d'iniquité; l'Ante-Christ opère déjà, et opérera jusqu'à la fin du monde dans ses ministres. Ce n'est point encore son règne réel, c'est le mystère, c'est la figure de son règne. Néron, et Simon le

4. There is another interpretation of the prophecy, however, founded upon a different view of the con-

Magicien furent du tems de Saint Paul les figures les plus ressemblantes de cet ennemi de Dieu."

The author of "Advent Sermons on Antichrist," published as No. 83 of the "Tracts for the Times," has stated a similar view of the prophecy in a form which deserves the reader's attention, although I fear what he says about "every thing in this world being a type of those that follow," savours more of poetry than of theology. His opinion is, that the primitive heresies were types of the great apostacy, and that heresy in every age may be considered as a sort of effort made by Satan, for bringing about the predicted overthrow of the faith and the development of Antichrist. Speaking of 2 Thes. ii. 7, this writer says, "he (St. Paul) would seem to mean merely this, that in his day there were shadows and forebodings, earnestings and operating elements of that which was one day to come in its fullness. Just as the types of Christ went before Christ, so the shadows of Antichrist precede him. In truth, every event in this world is a type of those that follow, history proceeding forward as a circle ever enlarging. The days of the Apostles typified the last days; there were false Christs and troubles, and the true Christ came in judgment to

destroy the Jewish Church. In like manner every age presents its own picture of those future events, which alone are the real fulfilment of the prophecy which stands at the head of all of them." pp. 4, 5. And again, "He [Antichrist] embodies a certain spirit, which existed even in the days of the Apostles. 'The mystery of iniquity doth *already* work.' '*Even now* there are many Antichrists.' And *what* that Spirit is, St. John declares in a subsequent chapter. 'Every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is not of God; and *this* is that spirit of the Antichrist, whereof ye have heard that it should come, *and even now already is it in the world.*' Here we see what its doctrine is to be; but on that I shall not here enlarge. I am speaking of its working, which had begun in the days of the Apostles, and has doubtless continued ever since. Doubtless this malignant principle has been at work since, from time to time, though kept under by him that 'withholdeth.' Nay, for what we know, at this very time, there is a fierce struggle, the spirit of Antichrist attempting to rise, and the political power in those countries which are prophetically Roman, firm and vigorous in repressing it. What that spirit is, it would be be-

struction of the original, which has been put forward by some modern expositors, and seems to merit some attention. It supposes the words "Now ye know what withholdeth that He might be revealed in His time," to refer not to the revelation of the man of sin, but to the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ; and the advocates of this construction would paraphrase the passage thus^w; "Now ye know, from

side my purpose here to attempt to ascertain, any more than to enlarge upon its doctrine; though certainly there is at this very time, as in the days of our fathers, a fierce and lawless principle every where at work, a spirit of rebellion against God and man, which the powers of government in each country can barely keep under with their greatest efforts. Whether this which we witness *be* that spirit of Antichrist, which is one day to be let loose, this ambitious spirit, the parent of all heresy, schism, sedition, revolution, and war;—whether this be so or not, certainly the present framework of society and government, as far as it is the representative of Roman power, would seem to be that which withholdeth, and Antichrist is that which will rise when this restraint fails." Ibid. pp. 6, 7. The reader will see that this author has felt himself bound to follow as if it were a tradition of Apostolic origin, the ancient opinion that the Roman empire is that which withholdeth; and in

order to retain this opinion as nearly as it can be now retained, when the Roman empire no longer exists, he is compelled to speak of "government, so far as it is the *representative* of Roman power," and of "countries *prophetically* Roman." I confess myself unable to understand this language; I do not see that the present governments of Europe are in any tolerable sense "*representatives* of Roman power," nor do I know what is meant by "countries prophetically Roman;" prophecy makes no mention, so far as I know, of Roman countries; and therefore I can only understand this phrase as denoting countries which expositors of prophecy, (not prophecy itself,) have found it necessary, for the support of their systems, to consider as Roman.

^w So for example Natalis Alexander (Comment. in loc.) "*Et nunc quid detineat scitis, ut reveletur in suo tempore: Nostis vero quod obstat quominus nunc veniat Christus Dominus ad generale iudicium,*

what I have just said, what it is that withholdeth, or delayeth the revelation of the day of Christ. Ye know that He cannot be revealed in His time, until there be a falling away first, and the man of sin be revealed; and until those various prophecies be accomplished wherein the signs of His coming, and of the end of the world are foretold. But this consideration should not lead us to diminish our watchfulness; for although the man of sin be not yet manifested, yet the mystery of iniquity is even now at work; his antecessors and precursors are already in the world, and are rapidly preparing the way for the complete development of the wicked one; in the mean time

quod tempore congruenti et a Deo præstituto futurum est, cum scilicet prædicatum fuerit Evangelium in universo mundo, cum fuerit completus electorum numerus, cum apostasia illa generalis contigerit, cum scelestus ille homo, scilicet Antichristus, in mundo prodierit; cum completa fuerint omnia, quæ Christus prædixit secundum suum adventum præcessura; cum tempus consummationis mundi præfinitum Dei decreto advenierit; tunc Dominus Jesus Christus vivos et mortuos judicaturus adveniet. *Nam mysterium jam operatur iniquitatis: tantum ut qui tenet nunc, teneat, donec de medio fiat.* Etsi nondum venerit Antichristus, jam iniquitas ejus occulte velut in mysterio peragitur et exercetur per ejus emissarios et præcursores, Christum et ejus

Ecclesiam oppugnantes, et per Christiani nominis persecutores. Interim vero qui veram fidem tenet, eam firmiter retineat, et in ea constanter perseveret, donec iniquus ille, scilicet Antichristus, e medio tollatur. *Et tunc revelabitur ille iniquus, quem Dominus Jesus interficiet spiritu oris sui, et destruet illustratione adventus sui eum.* Et cum in generalem apostasiam seu defectionem a fide mysterium iniquitatis evaserit, tunc iniquus ille homo, Antichristus scilicet, in apertum se proferet ut caput omnium impiorum: quem Dominus Jesus solo suæ Majestatis imperio, cujus jussisse fecisse est, interficiet, et præsentia sua delebit, sicut sol oriens tenebras luce sua fugat et dissipat."

therefore, let him who now holdeth the faith, keep it undefiled, let him persevere to the end, until the man of sin be taken out of the way; remembering that when the mystery of iniquity that is now at work shall have attained to its full measure of impiety, the wicked one shall be revealed, as the head and leader of the apostacy. But his reign shall be short, for the Lord shall consume him with the spirit of His mouth, and shall destroy him with the brightness of His coming."

Of this interpretation, however, it may be enough to say, that, although it gives a consistent sense, and apparently removes some difficulties, yet the construction of the original which it requires, seems peculiarly forced and unnatural*. In other respects, however, it coincides, as to the main results, with the

* It follows the Latin Vulgate in giving a different meaning to τὸ κατέχον in ver. 6, and to ὁ κατέχων in ver. 7, taking the latter in the sense of *holding the faith*, from the Vulgate "tantum ut qui tenet nunc, teneat, donec de medio fiat." It supposes αὐτον, ver. 6, to refer to Christ, although the only immediate antecedent is ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀμαρτίας, and in a manner equally arbitrary it assumes ὁ ἄνθ. τῆς ἀμαρτ. to be the subject of the verb γίνηται, ver. 7, which destroys the connexion between ver. 7 and ver. 8, and requires the introduction of a connecting link between those verses, for which there is no authority

in the original. The whole passage, with the insertions required by this exposition of it, will be as follows; Καὶ νῦν τὸ κατέχον οἶδατε, εἰς τὸ ἀποκαλυφθῆναι αὐτὸν [τὸν Κυρίον] ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ καιρῷ. Τὸ γὰρ μυστήριον ἤδη ἐνεργεῖται τῆς ἀνομίας, μόνον ὁ κατέχων ἔρτι [τὴν πίστιν, αὐτὴν κατέχων δι',] ἕως ἐκ μέσου γίνηται [ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀμαρτίας] καὶ τότε [ἐν τῷ συμπληροῦσθαι τὸ μυστήριον τῆς ἀνομίας] ἀποκαλυφθήσεται ὁ ἄνομος κ. τ. λ.

The use of the phrase ἀποκαλυφθῆναι ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀμαρτίας, ver. 3, seems to furnish a strong objection against taking ἀποκαλυφθῆναι αὐτὸν, ver. 6, to signify the coming of Christ.

conclusions which we have already drawn from the prophecy, and which are sanctioned by the consent of the ancient Church.

5. There is another class of modern interpreters who suppose the actual fulfilment of this prophecy to be now in progress, the apostacy to have begun at a very early period, the man of sin to have been revealed many centuries ago, and to be even now in existence upon the earth.

This opinion, you will perceive, is inconsistent with the individuality and personality of the man of sin, with his sitting in the temple of God, which we have shewn to mean the literal temple of Jerusalem, and with many other particulars in the prophecy. But I shall at present notice only the difficulty of reconciling it with the scope and intention of the Apostle's argument.

If the remarks I have already made on this subject be of any weight, you will have seen, that the apostle could not have intended this prophecy as a refutation of the primitive doctrine, elsewhere distinctly asserted by himself, that the coming of the Lord was an event to be expected in the life-time of the Christians then on earth; his object was merely to remove the impression that he had actually announced the day of Christ to be immediately at hand. It is evident, therefore, that nothing which he has here said respecting the development of an apostacy, ought to be interpreted so as to be inconsistent with the opinion that the second advent of the Lord and the resurrection of the dead might have happened in his own life-

time, or in the life-time of his cotemporaries. The apostacy, therefore, and the reign of Antichrist are evidently considered by St. Paul, as of short duration, so that although these events must come to pass before the day of Christ, yet they are not to occupy such a time, as to enable us to conclude, on the authority of the Scripture, that because the man of sin is not revealed, the day of Christ is therefore distant or remote.

For, if we suppose the apostle to have believed that the apostacy was to continue to afflict the Church for many centuries, the revelation that such an event was first to come, would have been equivalent to an express revelation that many centuries were to intervene between the apostolic age and the day of Christ; and although the result has shewn that many centuries have in fact intervened, yet we have no reason to believe that this formed any part of the counsel of God; our Lord's coming may have been delayed by the continued unbelief of the Jewish nation, by the existence of that which still perhaps withholdeth and letteth the revelation of Antichrist, or by other causes beyond the ken of man. But to suppose it revealed to the Church, as a part of the immutable counsel of the Most High, that so long a time was necessarily to elapse before the day of Christ could come, is manifestly irreconcilable with the numerous passages of the inspired writings, in which we are exhorted to watch and pray, because we know not when the time is. The knowledge that the time was long and distant would be as inimical to this watchfulness, as the know-

ledge of the precise hour at which the Master of the house was to come ; and the supposition that any such knowledge was revealed to the Church, or that any series of events was revealed, from which this knowledge that the time was not at hand might be inferred, would preclude the possibility of His coming “ suddenly ”.^y

We may observe also, that the apostle refers to the fact that the apostacy was not then come, and the man of sin not then revealed, as a fact of which the Thessalonians were perfectly cognizant ; and his argument implies, that whenever these events shall take place, the Church will have no difficulty or doubt about them. Nor indeed is it easy to conceive how such a power as is here described, “ whose coming shall be with signs and lying wonders,” whose blasphemies shall be directed against “ all that is called God, or that is worshipped,” who, as another prophecy informs us, shall “ devour the whole earth, and shall tread it down, and break it in pieces ^z,” it is not easy, I say, to conceive how such a potentate could be in existence, without making his fearful presence known, and his impious blasphemy perceived and abhorred by all faithful followers of Christ. Yet what has been the case if we are to follow the modern opinion that supposes this prophecy to have been fulfilled, and to be fulfilling in the Papal power ? In the first place the warmest advocates of this interpretation are unable themselves to say when the supposed apostacy began, how long the man of sin has been

^y Mark xiii. 32—37.

^z Dan. vii. 23.

sitting in the figurative temple of God, or how long the holy people, that is to say, according to these expositors, the Christian Church, have been worn out by him, and persecuted to death, or tempted to apostacy by the deceivableness of his unrighteousness. And in the next place,—whatsoever be the date affixed to the commencement of these events, or whatsoever be the reasons assigned for the obscurity in which their commencement is involved,—is it not even more unaccountable, that the Christian world should have been for centuries overrun with apostacy, suffering under the iron rule of the man of sin, and compelled to bow to his usurped authority, before any person suspected for a moment that any such events had taken place? Nay, that the best and holiest Christian men,—the genuineness of whose piety, and the sincerity of whose faith have never been questioned, even by those who contend for this interpretation of the prophecy,—the best and holiest Christian men that flourished during this long period, actually mistook what was in fact an apostacy from the faith, for true religion, and venerated the man of sin, the son of perdition, as the spiritual father of the Church, the vicar and representative of Christ.

Such a view of the prediction misrepresents, I conceive, altogether its true character. For St. Paul, you will bear in mind, makes mention of “the falling away,” and of the man of sin, as *signs* of our Saviour’s coming : and the lying wonders, the deceivableness of unrighteousness with which Antichrist shall entrap his followers, are to constitute a

main part of the probation to which the faith and love of Christians will be exposed in the latter times ; “here is the patience and faith ^a.” Now it is of the nature of a sign to be clear and unequivocal, more especially when it is to form a part of the probation of mankind, and when it is connected with the awful declaration, “that they all shall be damned who believe not the truth, but have pleasure in unrighteousness.” If therefore so fearful a doom be denounced against all who are the followers of Antichrist ; if “the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever, who worship the beast and his image, and whosoever receiveth the mark of his name ^b,” assuredly the guilt of adhering to him must be something more than an ordinary error or prejudice ; it must amount to the guilt of wilfully and knowingly rejecting the clearest evidence ; and wilfully and knowingly taking part with the avowed and acknowledged enemies of Christ.

But how can it be said that they who ignorantly live and die in the communion of the See of Rome, are guilty of any such gross and manifest rejection of the Lord ? Or that their guilt in not discerning the man of sin under the garb of a Christian patriarch, is worthy of the eternal damnation denounced against the worshippers of the Beast ? Who can say that it is necessary to salvation to understand and apply the nice rules of criticism which the advocates of this opinion have devised for the interpretation of mystical years, of times, and of symbolical language

^a Rev. xiii. 10.

^b Rev. xiv. 11.

generally, or of language supposed to be symbolical? That these rules are of no easy application is evident from the great and serious differences that may be found in the conclusions to which they have conducted such as have attempted to apply them; differences which leave it still undetermined, amongst the defenders of this interpretation of the prophecy, whether or not the saints are now in the hands of Antichrist; whether or not he is now engaged in wearing them out; when or how long ago the man of sin was revealed; how long it is since the apostacy began, or in what consist its peculiar and essential characters^c.

^c Mr. Maitland has expressed this difficulty in his usual strong and convincing language; speaking of the delivery of the saints into the hands of Antichrist, he asks: "If such an event as this has taken place, is it possible that the church of God can be at a loss to decide *when* and *how* it happened? Can there be a difference of opinion among pious, and learned, and laborious inquirers into the word of God, and the history of the church? Nay further, if we ask, 'is the church at this moment in the hands of the blasphemous little horn, or is it not?' Mr. Faber and many more assert that it is; while Mr. Cunninghame, Mr. Frere, and others are as fully convinced that it is not; and nine tenths of the christian world stand silent, avowedly unable

to give any opinion on the subject. They themselves may, or may not, be in the hands of the little horn, and he may, or may not, be wearing them out, for any thing they know;—they hope and believe they are the Christian Church, and therefore 'the saints:' but whether the beast is making war with, and has overcome them, they cannot tell;—it is a deep, curious, and litigated question, and one, on which, among so many conflicting opinions, they never pretend to form a judgment for themselves." First Inquiry; 2nd edit. pp. 44, 45. The whole discussion, of which these words are a part, well deserves the attention of the reader.

Mr. Tyso (Elucidation of the Prophecies, p. 78,) has given a table of the different dates fixed upon by commentators,

It is hard to imagine therefore that an event thus obscure and doubtful can be, in any practical sense, a sign to the Church of her Master's coming, or can be intended to form a part of the probation of all Christians, whether learned or unlearned, who shall be alive at its fulfilment. Nor is it easy to believe that our gracious Lord and Master would have annexed the tremendous penalty of everlasting damnation to the non-discernment of an event, which requires all the pains and labour of the most diligent and zealous investigators to gather from the records of the past the doubtful evidence of its supposed accomplishment.

I might observe also that this interpretation of the prophecy confounds an apostacy from the faith of Christ, with what is after all but a gross corruption, not an open or actual denial, of the truth^d. In one

for the commencement and termination of the times of Antichrist; the table contains the names of about fifty-five commentators, and forty-seven different opinions, giving dates for the commencement of this period, from A.D. 28, to A.D. 1832; and for its termination from A.D. 54 to A.D. 2450. Moreover in this long interval, almost every century has been selected for the commencement of the period; four different opinions fix it in the first century; one in the second; one in the third; seven in the fourth; eight in the fifth; ten in the sixth; six in the seventh; five in the eighth; one in the ninth; one in the

eleventh; two in the twelfth, and one in the nineteenth. The dates fixed upon for the termination of the 1260 days are no less various; two opinions fix it in the first century; one in the fourth; one in the thirteenth; one in the fourteenth; four in the sixteenth; twelve in the seventeenth; seven in the eighteenth; thirteen in the nineteenth; two in the twentieth; three in the twenty-first, and one in the twenty-fifth. To those who wish to see in a tabular form, the discrepancies of commentators on prophecy, Mr. Tyso's book will be found very useful.

^d Upon this subject let the reader consider the follow-

sense, indeed, it may be said, that all heresy or error is apostacy, inasmuch as it is a departure from the purity of the Gospel, a falling away from the integrity of the faith; but a wide difference nevertheless must be felt to exist between an infidel denial of all revealed religion, a blasphemous rejection of "all that is called God, or that is worshipped," and a system which retains, or professes to retain, all the essential doctrines of the Christian faith, although defiled, corrupted, and obscured by deep and fatal errors.

But another opportunity will present itself of exposing the unscriptural character of this mode of in-

ing remarks of Mr. Palmer, (Supplement to the Treatise on the Church, pp. iii.—v.): "There are two mistakes into which persons of hasty judgment may easily fall with reference to the Church of Christ. The first is, to overlook the distinction between *articles of faith or morality clearly taught by God*, and matters of opinion, theological doctrine, and Christian prudence, and to consider any deviation from sound doctrine in the one case as sinful as it would be in the other. Hence arises much of that lamentable intolerance with which all differences of opinion on religious subjects are treated by some well-meaning persons. The slightest deviation from what they see to be *true*, is stigmatized as an apostacy from Christianity itself. Every doctrine is with them either a matter of faith or

a heresy. The *truth* of any position being once clearly proved, they view it as a necessary point of faith, on which no difference of opinion can be permitted. The tendency of this inconsiderate and indiscriminating system is to divide the Church of Christ to an infinite degree, and to substitute a sectarian partizanship for that holy union in a common *faith*, and that charitable toleration of differences in other respects, which holy Scripture so continually and emphatically enjoins. No Christian communion could ever have existed without such a practical admission that some differences in doctrine may be tolerated in the Church; and to overlook this truth is to prepare the way for incalculable evils. Another mistake is, that system of optimism, which refuses to ad-

trepreting prophecy, when I shall have to consider, as I hope to do in my next discourse, another well known prediction of St. Paul, which refers, as is generally allowed, to the times of Antichrist, and which many expositors have in like manner applied to the Papal corruptions.

In the mean time, let me ask you to consider attentively the conclusions to which we have been led by the careful, and I trust impartial consideration we have been giving to this important portion of the word of God. If I am right in the views I have ventured to put forward, the Papal errors, great and serious as they are, have not fulfilled these prophecies; the Apostacy is yet to come; the man of sin is not yet revealed. I have no wish to disguise or to palliate the gross perversions of the truth, the manifest and indefensible superstitions, the painful and humiliating idolatries, that have so long unhappily characterized the Churches in the communion of

mit that superstition or error can ever exist in the Church of Christ, and, therefore, views any society in which they may be found as *apostate*. It is on this mistaken principle that some persons are led to reject the visible Church of Christ during the middle ages, as an antichristian society, and to seek for the fulfilment of God's promises to his Church in the existence of some feeble remnant scarcely discernable amidst the ruins and apostacy of universal Christianity. It leads others to separate from

every Church in which any doctrine or practice exists which they do not approve. On the very same principle, a different party adhere to real errors and superstitions, believing that what has existed for some time in the Church, cannot be erroneous. Thus this principle leads, on the one hand, to dissent from all existing churches; and, on the other, to the retention of every error and superstition which has once gained admission into the Christian community."

the See of Rome ; but the apostacy, which is foretold in Holy Writ will, I am persuaded, be a system far more fatally inimical to all true religion, even than these deep corruptions. Let us not therefore seek to refute even Popery, at the expense of truth, or to propound what we have reason to apprehend may be a false interpretation of the sacred word of God, whatever polemical advantage it may seem to promise in our controversy with the Church of Rome^c. I am the more earnest in pressing upon you these views, and in urging you to compare them diligently

^c I subscribe heartily to the words in which Mr. Maitland has expressed the sentiments that I am here endeavouring to inculcate : " Let me not be misunderstood," he says, " to be the advocate of the Papacy. God forbid that I should deny, or extenuate, its heresies or its crimes ; least of all would I do it, while the mushroom wisdom of ' a liberal and enlightened age ' is endeavouring to confound all distinctions in religion ;—when the brayings of operative declaimers echo back the bleatings of higher assemblies, to assure us that Protestants are Papists in all but the name, and that the fathers of our Church died at the stake to maintain a distinction without a difference. These are days when all Protestants, and especially a Protestant clergy, are called upon to watch against, and resist, the attacks of their enemies, and the more mischievous ignorance of their

friends. I know that they cannot do this without the hazard of misconstruction ;—so liberal indeed has this age become to all but old-fashioned principles, that if they express their opinion, the clergy may be charged with interested views ; and, even in quarters where it might be expected that high association would at least restrain individual grossness, if it could not give candour, courtesy, or wisdom, they may be told that it is done ' in a way of trade.' It is nevertheless to be done by all fair, honest, and Christian means ; and, at such a time, as a priest of the Church of England, I should be sorry to be thought, for one moment, the advocate of a corrupt Church, from which, through God's mercy, we are separated, not merely by name, or political constitution, but by a pure and scriptural faith. Yet, sure I am, that the Protestant cause

and dispassionately with the text of Holy Scripture, because I am persuaded, that by this unhappy turn of the controversy, the cause of truth, and the progress of the Reformation have greatly suffered. The labours and learning of our Protestant theologians have been expended in the vain attempt to reconcile a large and mysterious branch of prophecy to a preconceived interpretation, the offspring of controversial rancour and polemical debate; the sacred text has been handled in the belligerent spirit that counts all artifices lawful, all means of victory justifiable and right; historical facts have been misrepresented, the words of Scripture have been allegorized, and irreverently explained away; and in the attempt to exaggerate the Papal errors, in order to bring them more apparently within the terms of the prediction, their true character has been overlooked, and the fair and legitimate arguments, which can alone

requires not error or even false colouring for its support; and I would not willingly suppose any reader so dishonest, as to wish for the suppression of truth. Surely, even if we should not consider the Papacy either as Antichrist or the little horn, we leave it more curses than its bitterest enemy could desire to see fulfilled. Surely it has blood enough to answer for, if we look only to its transactions *since* the twelfth century. And in fact, what did the Bishops of Rome do for ages after the period when the saints were delivered into their hands, that could be

called MAKING WAR upon them, OVERCOMING, and WEARING THEM OUT? 'The quiescence of the little horn,' after the delivery of the saints into his hand, is treated as a thing not naturally to be supposed; yet so far as I can learn from history, there had been Bishops of Rome for more than a thousand years, before any one of them took upon him to make war upon the saints. During all this time (if they opposed the progress of his pretensions to supremacy,) the saints never doubted that he was a Christian Bishop—never withdrew from Christian communion with him

expose their falsehood, and silence or convince the advocates of them, have been forgotten or abandoned^f.

Nor is this the only, or perhaps the greatest evil that has resulted from the attempts of contending sects to fix the odium of these prophecies on the religious system of their opponents. The attention of the Church has been diverted from the true meaning of that sacred word of prophecy which was given to forewarn her of the wrath to come, to shew her the things that must be hereafter, to acquaint her with the signs of her Master's coming, lest the day of the Lord should overtake her as a thief in the night. Thus the very design of prophecy has been, in a measure, frustrated; or at least, we have been deprived of that benefit which the foreknowledge of the

—never once suspected that they were sealing their own damnation, by receiving his mark on their foreheads." First Inquiry, 2nd Edit. p. 65, sq.

^f Here again I shall avail myself of Mr. Palmer's words: (Supplement, pp. xxiii. xxiv.) "The papacy is a grievous evil to the Christian Church. The continuance of errors and corruptions, the decay of wholesome discipline, the divided state of Christendom, are all in a great measure attributable to the usurpations and ambition of the Roman See. But God forbid that we should rest our arguments against the errors of Rome on so sandy a foundation as these modern interpretations of the

prophecies. We have a much simpler and surer way, in proving that those errors are unauthorized by the word of God, and inconsistent with it; that they are mere human inventions, and productive of consequences practically which are injurious to Christian faith and piety. When this has been proved, the Roman Church is at once convicted of doing wrong in retaining and imposing as dogmas of the faith, such human inventions: the Reformation is shewn to have been justifiable and essential: our obligation to promote its extension to the Roman Churches is manifested; while at the same time we do not consign to IRRETRIEVABLE DAMNATION, al-

future destiny of the Church is calculated to confer upon us. We have lost the advantage implied in our Saviour's warning, "behold I have told you before^s;"—we have dealt with His sacred words as they did, who, in the very presence of the Apostles, maintained that the resurrection was passed alreadyⁿ;—and we are now perhaps, too many of us, prepared to explain away, in like manner, even the very hope of our Lord's appearing, and to say in our hearts, "Where is the promise of his coming? for since the fathers fell asleep all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creationⁱ."

Beware therefore, brethren, of the spirit which seeks to devise far fetched and ingenious expositions of the sacred prophecies of Scripture, to fit preconceived interpretations on the holy words, rather than to follow their guidance, and to receive, with the humility and docility of children, the mysteries of knowledge they contain. Let us remember that

most the whole mass of Christendom, for more than a thousand years, nor permit the infidel and the scorner to ask in triumph, 'where is that kingdom whose grandeur was predicted in such glowing terms by the ancient prophets; and where the benefit to mankind of the incarnation of the eternal Son of God?' We appeal to *facts*: we see and *prove* the corruptions of the eastern and western Churches; but we are not compelled to exaggerate those errors, nor forced to attribute to all alike,

those superstitions which many unquestionably reject. This is one of the great evils of the systems of interpretation to which I allude. Their tendency is to produce an exaggerated view of errors, an indiscriminate censure unsupported by fact, in order to justify the awful sentence of damnation denounced by Scripture against those whom they identify with the visible churches of Christendom."

^s Matt. xxiv. 25.

ⁿ 2 Tim. ii. 18.

ⁱ 2 Pet. iii. 4.

the "sure word of prophecy," as the Apostle St. Peter speaks, was given as "a light that shineth in a dark place," to which it is our duty to "take heed," "until the day dawn, and the day star arise in our hearts ; knowing this first, that no prophecy of the Scripture is of any private interpretation. For the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost ¹."

¹ 2 Pet. i. 19—21.

LECTURE VI.

T

“They which measure religion by dislike of the Church of Rome, think every man so much the more sound, by how much he can make the corruptions thereof to seem more large. And therefore some there are, namely the Arians in reformed churches of Poland, which imagine the canker to have eaten so far into the very bones and marrow of the Church of Rome, as if it had not so much as a sound belief, no not concerning God himself, but that the very belief of the Trinity were a part of antichristian corruption; and that the wonderful providence of God did bring to pass that the bishop of the see of Rome should be famous for his triple crown; a sensible mark, whereby the world might know him to be that great and notorious Antichrist, in no one respect so much as in this, that he maintaineth the doctrine of the Trinity. Wisdom therefore and skill is requisite to know, what parts are sound in that Church, and what corrupted.”
Hooker, Eccles. Pol. B. iv. ch. 8.

LECTURE VI.

1 TIM. iv. 1—3.

“Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils; speaking lies in hypocrisy; having their conscience seared with a hot iron; forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth.”

WE have seen, in the prophecy which last engaged our attention, that “a falling away” was predicted as one of the signs of our Saviour’s coming; and that, although some have conceived the words to relate to a dismemberment or division of the Roman empire, yet the great majority of commentators are of opinion that a religious apostacy, or a falling away from the Christian faith, is intended.

It is no small confirmation of this latter interpretation, that in the prophecy which I propose to examine now, the same word is employed, in describing a departure *from the faith*;—“in the latter times, some shall depart, or apostatize, from the faith,” (*ἀποστήσονται τινες τῆς πίστεως*);—and, although no mention is made of “the man of sin,” yet se-

veral new and very important characteristics of the apostacy are revealed ; all of which tend to shew, that a religious, and not a merely political, revolution is foretold.

It will be necessary, therefore, to consider with attention these particulars, some of which are peculiar to the prophecy now before us, and to compare them with the conclusions at which we have already arrived.

For this purpose, I shall endeavour, in the first place, to state the grounds upon which I am disposed to regard the departure from the faith here spoken of, as identical with the “falling away” which is foretold in the epistle to the Thessalonians ; secondly, I shall collect together the particulars revealed in this prediction, and especially such as were not so distinctly to be gathered from former prophecies ; and lastly, I shall make some necessary remarks on the common systems of interpretation.

I. I am first to consider the circumstances which should lead us to identify the apostacy described in this prophecy with the apostacy foretold in the epistle to the Thessalonians.

1. The use of the same word in both prophecies, as I have already noticed, may fairly be adduced as an argument in favour of their identity, especially when we bear in mind that both foretell the events of the same period in the history of the world. The prophecy of the man of sin is to be fulfilled, as we have seen, immediately before the second coming of the Lord, and the prophecy now before us relates in like manner to *the latter times* ; “the Spirit

speaketh expressly, that *in the latter times* some shall depart from the faith."

Commentators, you are aware, differ widely in their interpretation of this and the other synonymous phrases employed in the Apostolic writings, and in the prophecies of Daniel^a. The most general opinion seems to be that the times of the Christian dispensation, as distinguished from the Jewish, are intended; although it is not agreed whether the whole period from the age of the Apostles to the end

^a The various phrases used by St. Paul, St. Peter, St. James, St. John, and St. Jude are as follows;—*ἐν ὑστέροις καιροῖς*. 1 Tim. iv. 1. *ἐν ἰσχαταῖς ἡμέραις*. 2 Tim. iii. 1. James v. 3. *ἐπ' ἰσχατῶν τῶν ἡμερῶν*. Heb. i. 1. *ἐν καιρῷ ἰσχατῶν*. 1 Pet. i. 5. *ἐπ' ἰσχατοῦ τῶν ἡμερῶν*. 2 Pet. iii. 3. *ἰσχατὴ ὥρα*. 1 John ii. 18. *ἐν ἰσχατῷ χρόνῳ*. Jude 18.—Mede remarks that the words *ἰσχατὴ ἡμέρα*, when used in the singular number, denote the day of judgment. "Now in the New Testament, when by mention of *last time* is meant an end or *terminus temporis*, I observe it to be exprest in the singular number; as *Ἐσχάτη ἡμέρα*, *the last day*, being four times mentioned in the sixth of *John*, and once in the eleventh, is in every one of them meant of the *Day of the Resurrection* at the end of the world. *I will raise him up*, saith our Saviour, *ἐν τῇ ἰσχατῇ ἡμέρᾳ*, *in the last day*, John vi. 39, 40, 44, 54. And *Martha* of her

brother *Lazarus*, *I know* (saith she,) *he shall rise again in the resurrection*, *ἐν τῇ ἰσχατῇ ἡμέρᾳ* *at the last day*, John xi. 24. So 1 Peter i. 5, *ἰσχατος καιρὸς*, *the last time*, is used in the self-same sense, being spoken of the *incorruptible inheritance reserved in heaven, and to be revealed* (saith the Apostle) *ἐν καιρῷ ἰσχατῶν*, *in the last time*. In all which is meant the *end of the world*." Yet he denies that a similar phrase in the Epistle of St. John has the same signification: "In 1 John. ii. 18," he says, "we have *ἰσχατὴ ὥρα*, *the last hour*, *Little children, it is the last hour*; where no doubt, he meaneth an *end of some time*, but not the *end of the world*, which was then far off; but an *end of their time* to whom he wrote his Epistle, (that is,) an *end of the Jewish State and religion*, which was then at the very door." Apostasie of the latter Times, Part I. chap. xi. Works, p. 652.

of the world, or only the latter part of that period be denominated in Scripture "the last times," or "the latter times ^b." The learned Joseph Mede has maintained that by "the last times in general" the whole duration of the fourth kingdom foretold in the prophecies of Daniel is intended; but as he conceived the fourth kingdom to be the Roman empire,—an opinion which, as I have already endeavoured to prove, has greatly impeded the right understanding of these prophecies ^c,—he was under the necessity of imagining another period within this period, which he has called "the latter times of the last times ^d." But

^b Erasmus takes the words in ὁπίσθεν καιροῖς here as denoting simply "in times to come." He says, "Ὅπίσθεν, posterioribus sive sequentibus. Neque enim est ἰσχυάτοις." Annot. in loc. (ap. Crit. Sac.)

^c When I speak of this opinion as having operated to impede the right understanding of the prophecies, I speak of it as it is held by modern expositors, since the political extinction of the Roman empire. Among the ancients who lived before that event, it did not lead to the unscriptural conclusions that the reign of Antichrist was to continue for many centuries; that the same individuals might at the same time be children of God, and signed with the name and mark of the beast; and that many important statements of the prophecies are to be figuratively interpreted. The ancient opinion, strictly speaking,

cannot now be maintained by any expositor; instead of the Roman empire, expositors are now forced to speak of governments which represent the Roman empire—the countries in fact which were once a part of the Roman empire; the countries "*prophetically* Roman," or in other words Roman in a sense sufficient to serve the purposes of commentators on prophecy. See Lect. II. and note, pp. 255, 256.

^d Mede's words are as follow: "Now these *four kingdoms* (according to the truth infallibly to be demonstrated, if need were, and agreeable both to the ancient opinion of the Jewish Church whom they most concerned, and to the most ancient and universal opinion of Christians derived from the times of the Apostles, until now of late time some have questioned it,) are, 1, the *Babylonian*; 2, that of

this hypothesis is wholly destitute of scriptural foundation; no such distinction is observed in Scripture, either in the Old or New Testament, between “the

the *Medes* and *Pertians*; 3, the *Greek*; 4, the *Roman*. In which quaternary of kingdoms, as the Roman, being the last of the four, is the *last kingdom*; so are the *times* thereof, those *last times* we seek for; during which times (saith Daniel, chap. ii. v. 44.) *The God of heaven shall set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed, nor left unto another people, but it shall break in pieces and consume all those kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever*: which is figured by a stone hewn out of the mountain without hands, before the times of the Image were yet spent; which stone at length smote the Image upon his feet of iron and clay, and so, utterly destroyed it; that done, the stone that smote the Image upon the feet became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth. The meaning of all which is, that in the *last times*, or under the *times* of the *last kingdom*, (the Roman) should the *kingdom* of CHRIST appear in the world, as we see it hath done.” And again, “Having thus found *what times* are termed the *last times* in general, let us now see if we can discover what are the *latter times* of these *last times*, or the *latter times* in special, which are those ὥστε καὶ latter times in my text:

which will not be hard to do. For, if the *last times* in general are all the times of the *fourth kingdom*, then must our *latter times*, as a part thereof, needs be the *latter times* of that kingdom. Let us therefore again to our *Prophetical Kalendar*, and survey Daniel’s description of the *fourth* or *Roman* kingdom, as it is in chapter vii., from verse 19, where we shall soon find the *latter times* thereof to be that period of a *time, times, and half a time*, during which that prodigious horn, with eyes like a man, and a mouth speaking great things, should make war with the saints, prevail against them, and wear them out, and think to change times and laws, until the judgment should sit, and his dominion be taken away; and in him that long-lived beast finally be destroyed, and his body given to the burning flame, verse 11. For this hornish sovereignty is the last scene of that long tragedy, and the conclusion of the *fourth beast*; and therefore the times thereof are those ὥστε καὶ, latter times, whereof the Spirit spake expressly, that in them there should be an *apostasy from the Christian faith*.” Apostasy of the latter Times, part i. ch. xii. pp. 654, 5.

last times" and "the latter times;" but on the contrary these terms are uniformly employed as synonymous, and manifestly denote the same period. In fact, we have seen, that the Apostles and primitive Christians considered themselves as living in the last times; that is to say, in the times immediately preceding the end of the world; and they lived in daily expectation of our Saviour's appearing, believing that "the end of all things was at hand," and "the coming of the Lord drawing nigh^e."

It cannot, therefore be doubted that by this remarkable phrase, the Apostles and Prophets, or rather the Spirit that was in the Apostles and Prophets, intended to designate the times immediately preceding the second Advent of the Lord, and the end of the world; and if this be admitted it will follow, that the departure from the faith, of which the Apostle speaks in the passage before us, must be referred to the same chronological period as the "perilous times" described in another prophecy^f, and "the apostacy" foretold in the epistle to the Thessalonians.

2. We may observe, also, that the Apostle mentions the prophecy of a departure from the faith in the latter times, not as a new revelation, then for the first time communicated to the Church, but as a prediction that was already familiar and well known to those for whom he wrote; "The Spirit speaketh

^e 1 Pet. iv. 7. James, v. 8, Comp. Heb. i. 2, ix. 26. See the remarks that have been

already made on this subject, p. 196, et seq.

^f 2 Tim. iii. 1.

expressly," he says, "that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith;" and you may remember that we noticed a similar allusion to former predictions in the prophecy of the man of sin. The reference therefore in both cases was most probably to the prophecies of Daniel, which were doubtless in the hands of all Christians; and also, perhaps, to the predictions of our blessed Lord, where He forewarned His disciples of the false Christs, and false prophets who shall precede His second coming, and where He intimated also that when the Son of man shall come, He shall hardly find the faith on the earth^s. This circumstance therefore supplies us with another presumptive proof of the identity of these prophecies.

II. Our next business then must be to collect from the prophecy now before us, the nature and characteristics of the apostacy; and especially to consider such particulars as were not so distinctly revealed in former predictions. The topics here treated of are, I think, twofold; first, the nature of the apostacy, and secondly the means or manner of its propagation or establishment in the world.

1. The nature of the apostacy is here distinctly stated to be a departure from the fundamental and essential doctrines of the Catholic faith.

This will follow from the close connexion that exists between the words I have chosen for my text

^s Matt. xxiv. 5, 11, 12, 24. Luke, xviii. 8.

and the concluding verses of the preceding chapter, from which they appear to have been injudiciously separated. The Apostle is instructing St. Timothy how to behave himself "in the Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth;" and for this purpose he exhorts him "to put the brethren in remembrance"^b of the great essential doctrines of the Gospel; and also of the prophecy, which had been expressly given to the Church, that in the latter times some shall abandon those doctrines. So that the connexion between his statement of the fundamental articles of the faith, and the prophecy we are now to consider, would seem to be something like this, "that although the mystery of godliness is great without controversy;—that God was manifest in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory;—yet, the Spirit speaketh expressly that in the latter times some shall depart from this faith; or in other words, that in the latter times some shall deny these fundamental, and without controversy great mysteries, of the incarnation, the epiphany, and the ascension of our blessed Lord."

I am aware that the premises from which I have drawn this conclusion as to the nature and character of the predicted departure from the faith, have been employed by the excellent and learned Joseph Mede, to establish a different view of the prophecy. He maintains that when the Apostle says, "some shall

^b 1 Tim. iv. 6.

apostatize from the faith," the meaning is, not that they shall depart from the faith "in all parts of it," but only in one "main and fundamental part thereof," namely, the assumption of our Lord "to the throne of Glory and incommunicable Majesty in heaven;" and this conclusion he labours to establish from the connexion which subsists between the words of our text and the concluding verses of the preceding chapter; and particularly, from the circumstance that our Lord's being "received up into glory" is mentioned after his being "seen of angels," "preached unto the Gentiles," and "believed on in the world;" events, which as Mr. Mede reasons, were subsequent to His ascension into heaven, and which would therefore naturally have been mentioned after His ascension, were it not the Apostle's object to shew, that the departure from the faith, of which he immediately goes on to speak, was a departure not from the whole faith in all its fundamental articles, but only from this last mentioned part of it, namely, our Saviour having been "received into glory¹."

¹ Mede begins his treatise of the Apostacy of the latter times, which is an elaborate exposition of the prophecy before us, with the following words:—

"The words I have read are a prophesie of a revolt of Christians from the *Great Mystery of Christian Worship*, described in the last verse of the former chapter, which

according to the division of the ancients should be the first of this: for that last verse, together with the first six verses of this and and half the seventh verse, make the seventh title or main section of this Epistle, expressed in the edition of *Robert Stephen*; and so are supposed, from the grounds of that division, to belong all to one argument. The words

You will perceive, however, that the whole of this laboured argument depends on the assumption that our Lord was not "seen of angels," "preached unto the Gentiles," or "believed on in the world," until after He had been "received up into glory." Yet, surely all these things were at least begun to be fulfilled during our Saviour's sojourn in the flesh. Was He not "seen of angels" when a multitude of the heavenly host announced to the shepherds His nativity? When angels ministered unto Him in the wilderness? When there appeared an angel unto Him from heaven, to strengthen Him in his agony? When a vision of angels declared to His faithful fol-

therefore of my text depend upon the last of the former chapter, as the second part of a *discrete* proposition: That howsoever the *Μυστήριον τῆς Σαλῆς*, the *mystery of the Christian Religion*, which is, *God manifested in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of Angels, and assumed into Glory*; though this *mystery* was a great one, and at that time *preached* and *believed in the world*: Nevertheless the *Spirit* [Τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα] *speakes expressly, that in the latter times there shall be a revolt or departing from this faith*; though not in all parts of it, yet from a main and fundamental part thereof, namely, *The assumption of this God and Man to the throne of Glory* and incommunicable Majesty in heaven, whereby He hath a name given Him

above every name, and whereof no creature in heaven or in earth can be capable. Which connexion is the reason why the Apostle putteth this *Assumption into Glory* in the last place of his description, which should else, in the true order, have followed the words [*justified in the Spirit,*] and been before [*preached unto the Gentiles* and *believed on in the world.*] But it is the method of the Scripture sometimes to translate the proper order, and to mention that in the last place whereunto it is to joyn, and from whence it is to infer the next words that follow after. And unless this reason be allowed here, there will hardly be found any other reason of this misplacing."—*Apostasie of the latter Times.* Part I. chap. i. Works, p. 623.

lowers His resurrection¹? Was He not “preached unto the Gentiles,” and “believed on in the world,” when wise men from the east were the first to recognize the Star of Jacob, and to acknowledge the infant JESUS as the Messiah, the King of the Jews²? When a woman of Canaan, a Greek, a Syrophenician by nation, won from the lips of her Redeemer the glorious commendation “O woman, great is thy faith³?” When the faith of a Gentile centurion caused the Son of God to “marvel,” and to testify to the Jews who witnessed it, “Verily, I say unto you, I have not found so great faith, no not in Israel⁴?”

It is not, therefore, by any means so certain as Mede’s argument requires us to assume, that the natural order of the events has been in any degree departed from by the Apostle⁵. But even though we were to admit this, it will not necessarily follow, that the effect of such a transposition would be to intimate that the departure from the faith, of which the apostle spoke, was a departure, not from

¹ So this part of the prophecy is generally interpreted. Whitby says, (Comm. in loc.) “He was *seen of angels*, who at his entrance into the world did worship him, Heb. i. 6; who celebrated his birth, and gave notice of it to the world, Luke, ii. 9, 13; who ministered to him in the desert, Matt. iv. 11, and in his agonies, Luke, xxii. 43, xxiv. 4; who were present at his resurrection, and attended him at his

ascension into heaven. Acts, i. 10.”

² Matt. ii. Num. xxiv. 17. Is. lx. 3.

³ Matt. xv. 21.—28. Mark vii. 24, &c.

⁴ Matt. viii. 10, Luke vii. 9.

⁵ Many commentators however, overlooking, as I think, the many instances in which our Lord was manifested to the Gentiles both before His incarnation, and during His earthly ministry, assume that

the whole of that faith which he had just before described as "the mystery of godliness," and of which he had enumerated the fundamental articles, but only from that article of it which had been mentioned last. Yet suppose we were to admit this too, still the concession will not be enough to satisfy the demands of Mede's theory; we shall be required also to admit, that the Assumption of our Lord into heaven includes the whole of His mediatorial office; and that an apostasy from this part of the faith is implied in those corruptions of Christian worship, which deny, by implication, the oneness of His office of Mediator, and assert the power of other mediators, subordinate indeed to His, but still co-ordinate with it, by the idolatrous worship of saints and angels, which has been unhappily sanctioned for so long a period, and in so large a portion of the Christian Church°.

I trust, however, that an exposition so far fetched

the order of the events is inverted in this passage, and endeavour to assign reasons for the inversion. Nor is this altogether a modern opinion; Theodoret (Comm. in loc.) says, Ἀνελήφθη ἐν δόξῃ. Τοῦτο γιγνέσθαι μὲν πρὸ τοῦ κηρύγματος. τελευταῖον δὲ αὐτὸ τίθει, διδάσκων ὡς ἱερότως ἐπιστάθην τὸ κήρυγμα· ἐν οὐρανοῖς γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ τοῦτο γίνεσθαι κελεύσας, καὶ τὴν ἐκ δεξιῶν ἔχει καθέδραν. Estius says, "Videri potest ordo præposterus, cum prius sit Christum in gloria assumptum esse, quam in mundo creditum. Verum Apostolus non temporis spec-

tavit ordinem, sed rationem reddere voluit ejus quod dixerat, *creditum est in mundo*, quasi dicat, Non temerè nec inaniter mundus in Christum sibi prædicatum credidit, quandoquidem ille jam in cœlum assumptus est, cum ea gloria ut sedeat ad dexteram Patris. Sic enim hanc gloriam explicat Marcus cap. ultimo dicens; *Et Dominus quidem Jesus assumptus est in cœlum, et sedit a dextris Dei.*" Comment. in loc.

° See particularly "The Apostasie of the latter Times" Part I. cap. vii. Works, p. 637.

and elaborate ; an exposition, too, so manifestly framed for controversial purposes, and to meet the exigencies of a preconceived interpretation,—will not require any lengthened refutation. It supposes the apostle to represent as a *departure from the faith*, what, after all, does not amount to a formal denial even of that one article of the faith to which Mede would restrict the prophecy. The idolatrous worship of the saints, which has so long defiled and disgraced the Church, is not founded on an actual *rejection* of the great article of our Lord's ascension and mediatorial office ;

¶ The decree of the Council of Trent, in which the invocation of saints is allowed, fully recognizes the mediatorial supremacy of our Saviour. It commands the bishops and clergy to teach their people, “ Sanctos una cum Christo regnantes, orationes suas pro hominibus Deo offerre ; bonum atque utile esse suppliciter eos invocare ; et ob beneficia impetranda a Deo per Filium ejus Jesum Christum, Dominum nostrum, qui solus noster redemptor et salvator est, ad eorum orationes, opem, auxiliumque confugere. Illos vero, qui negant sanctos, æterna felicitate in cælo fruente, invocandos esse ; aut qui asserunt, vel illos pro hominibus non orare ; vel eorum, ut pro nobis etiam singulis orent, invocationem esse idololatriam ; vel pugnare cum verbo Dei, adversarique honori unius mediatoris Dei et hominum Jesu Christi ; vel stultum esse in

cælo regnantibus voce vel mente supplicare ; impie sentire.” Con. Trid. Sess. xxv. This passage, notwithstanding its objectionable character, distinctly admits that our Lord Jesus Christ is the one and only Mediator between God and man ; and therefore it must follow, in all fairness and candour, that those Romanists who practice saint-worship in such a form as to be inconsistent with this doctrine, are acting inconsistently also with the real principles of their Church. That the invocation of saints has a decided tendency to lead the ignorant and superstitious to dangerous extremes, is admitted by all candid Romanists. Bossuet, for example, says, “ Ce qu'il y avoit à craindre pour les ignorans, c'étoit qu'ils ne fissent l'invocation des saints trop semblable à celle de Dieu, et leur intercession trop semblable à celle de Jesus Christ.” (Variat.

for the Roman and Eastern churches, wherein this gross corruption of our religion is tolerated, continue

liv. xxv. n. 155.) And that the danger is not entirely confined to the unlearned, is evident, from the shifts to which the most eminent theologians are reduced, in order to reconcile this practice with the doctrine of Scripture, that there is but *ONE* Mediator between God and man. Launoy states the opinion of his Church in these words: "Christus in Scripturis Mediator unicus, id est principalis, dicitur, quia per proprium sanguinem redemit nos a servitute diaboli, et Deo reconciliavit, quod nemo alius fecit. At sancti sunt tantum mediatores secundarii, qui postquam redempti sumus, intercedunt pro nobis, ut redemptionis fructum percipiamus." Assertio in privil. S. Medard. cap. lxxv. n. 10. (Opp. tom. iii. part ii. p. 216.) This should be considered as a plain admission of the difficulty of reconciling the doctrine of Scripture with the opinion now sanctioned in the Roman communion; the learned writer is forced to lower the Scriptural expression "*Mediator unicus*" into "*Mediator principalis*," and to paraphrase the assertion, "there is *but one* Mediator," by what must be felt to be any thing but an equivalent one, "there is but *one principal* Mediator, though there be many subordinate and secondary." And the attempts made by other divines of the

same school, to reconcile these doctrines, are open to a similar objection; thus Natalis Alexander, in reply to the objection, "*injuriā fieri Christo si sanctos velut mediatores nostros apud Deum interpellemus*," says, "*Respondent Catholici*" [Romanenses, scil.] "*Theologi, unum revera esse mediatorem Dei et hominum, hominem Jesum Christum, perfectā mediatione: Ille enim perfecte mediator est, qui immediate ad Deum accedens per suum ipsius meritum, quod ab alieno merito non pendeat, nec vi ac virtute alterius sit subnixum, Deum hominibus placatum reddit, omniaque salutis dona a Deo hominibus obtinet. Quod quidem officium Christo homini Deo competit: de quo subdit ibidem Apostolus: Qui dedit redemptionem semetipsum pro omnibus nobis. Quibus verbis Christum redemptionis officio solum esse hominum mediatorem, significat. Sed sancti suo etiam quodam modo sunt mediatores, intercessionis suffragio. Christus mediator est natura simul et officio: quia solus Deum inter et homines est proprie medius.*" And again, "*Verum id non prohibet quin sancti mediatores etiam dici possint secundi, et ei tanquam primario subjuncti, et ab illo suspensi, opem suam ac patrociniū commodando nobis apud Deum. Tantum enim abest ut illud media-*

to recognize the supremacy of Christ's mediatorial office ; and profess to condemn with horror all such

tionis genus injuriam ac dedecus Christi cedere Apostolus existimaverit : quin potius hoc ipso in capite jubet ut pro nobis mutuo Deum interpellemus. Verum quia sancti pro nobis orent, non proprio merito, sed meritis Christi servatoris subnixi, sunt imperfecta ratione mediatores. Porro quod hoc sensu mediator justus quisque dici possit, diserte Scriptura docet, in qua Moyses ipse refertur dicens : *Ego sequester et medius fui inter Deum et vos in tempore illo.* Unde etiam Apostolus ad Galatas 3. ait : *Legem ordinatam fuisse per Angelos in manu mediatoris*, hoc est, in manu Moysis. Utramque mediationis rationem hac complexus videtur sententia S. Augustinus lib. ii. *contra Parmenianum*, cap. 8. *Homines omnes invicem se commendant orationibus suis. Pro quo autem nullus interpellat, sed ipse pro omnibus, hic unus verusque Mediator est*, qui scilicet *Per semetipsum ad Deum accedit, semper vivens ad interpellandum pro nobis*, ut ait Apostolus, unde quidquid a Deo adhibita sanctorum intercessione petit ecclesia, totum illud Christi meritis se impetraturam proficitur et confidit, orationes suas his verbis absolvens : *per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum* : hac de veritate persuasa, quam S. Augustinus in Psal-

mum 108. literis prodidit : *oratio quæ non fit per Christum, non solum non potest delere peccatum, sed etiam ipsa fit in peccatum.*" And again, "Absque ratione autem offenduntur Fratres nostri segreges, quod Mediatoris nomen modo sic explicato sanctis tribuatur : cum et alia nomina quæ Deo vel Christo propria sunt, non solum communis Fidelium usus, verum etiam Scriptura sacra cum hominibus communicet, quatenus Dei vel Christi perfectiones participant. *Sic solus Deus habere immortalitatem* dicitur in sacris literis, *et solus Deus verax : et nemo bonus nisi solus Deus : et unus est pater noster qui est in cælis* : et prohibet Christus ne *Magistri* vocemur, quia *unus est Magister noster*. Et Christus *Lucis* nomen sibi proprium significavit. Et tamen homines bonos, veraces, patres, magistros, absque Dei et Christi injuria appellamus : et Christus ipse Apostolos Lumen mundi nuncupavit. Quin et ipsum salvatoris nomen cum sanctis interdum communicatur absque Christi unici salvatoris injuria : unde Apostolus, 1. ad Corinthios 9. scripsit : *omnibus omnia factus sum, ut omnes facerem salvos*. Quidni ergo et Mediatoris nomen, sensu explicato, sanctis, absque Christi Mediatoris injuria tribuatur?" Hist.

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invocation of saints as would imply that He was no longer our Advocate with the Father. It is true,

Eccles. Sec. v. Diss. xxii. qu. 2. art. 2. prop. 1. (Tom. v. p. 313, 314. Venet. 1778.) But the question is not a mere controversy about words, as this statement would represent it. For the objection is, not that the saints are supposed to be mediators, in the sense in which every Christian who intercedes for another in prayer may be said to be a mediator; but that an office is supposed to be exercised by the saints, subordinate no doubt, and secondary to that of Christ, but still an office of the same nature; in which they are represented as appointed by the Almighty to stand between Him and sinners, to receive the prayers of men, and to offer them to Christ and to the Father; an office to which they have been exalted in consequence of their merit and virtue, in such a sense, that we may call upon God to hear us for the merits' sake of the saints, even as we call upon Him for the merits of our Lord.

The real practical evils, however, connected with the invocation of saints are chiefly these three: first, its idolatrous tendency, as setting up a wrong object of worship; a danger to the unlearned, which is acknowledged, as we have seen, by Bossuet. Secondly, the unscriptural views upon which it is founded, of the present state and condition of departed

saints, as if their felicity was complete, before the coming of the Lord and the resurrection of the flesh. Thirdly, the great practical evil, which is thus briefly stated in the Apology for the Augsburg Confession, "*Fingunt enim homines, Christum duriores esse et sanctos placabiliores, et magis confidunt misericordia sanctorum, quam misericordia Christi, et fugientes Christum, quærunt sanctos.*"

But it is neither fair nor true, nor in any degree necessary for the refutation of these errors, to represent this practice of the Roman Churches, as a simple and formal denial of Christ's mediatorial office; for the divines of those Churches, with one voice, disclaim such an inference from their doctrine, and the Council of Trent, in its decree on the subject, labours to guard against it. It is not, however, surprising that such a charge should be brought against Romanists, when we consider that the grossest abuses in the invocation of saints, not only prevail amongst them, but are tolerated and encouraged by their bishops and clergy. See Dean Freeman's Discourse concerning Invocation of Saints, published in Bp. Gibson's Preservative against Popery, vol. ii. Dr. John Patrick's Tract, "The Virgin Mary misrepresented by the Roman Church," published in

their practice, and the superstitious, nay idolatrous, ascribes to the saints, which they have sanctioned,

me collection, vol. iii. the same author's "Remarks upon the Devotions of the Roman Church," 8vo. 1674.

These works will give the reader a very tolerable view of the abuses to which saint-worship has given rise in foreign countries; and I regret to say, similar abuses, in their different form, are still countenanced, and have recently received the highest sanction from the court of Rome. If credit is due to a book published in London, among the lives of the five canonized at Rome, on

Sunday, May 26th, it appears that the practice of these abuses is now regarded as a ground for conferring the highest religious honours.

The following anecdote, for example, is recorded of Alphonsus Liguori, one of the new saints: "Whilst

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 was preaching on the patronage of the Blessed Virgin, and exciting his hearers to recur with confidence to her, in all their wants, he suddenly exclaimed, 'O, you are too cold in praying to our Blessed Lady! I will pray to her for you.' He knelt down in the attitude of prayer, with his eyes raised to heaven, and was seen, by all present, lifted more than a foot from the ground, and turned towards a statue of the Blessed Virgin, near the

pulpit. The countenance of Our Lady darted forth beams of light, which shone upon the face of the extatic Alphonsus. This spectacle lasted about five or six minutes, during which the people cried out, '*Mercy, mercy! a miracle, a miracle!*' and every one burst into a flood of tears. But the saint rising up, exclaimed in a loud voice, 'Be glad, for the Blessed Virgin has granted your prayer.'" (p. 27.) And some of the instances of miraculous power attributed to this saint and his relics after his death, as stated in the processes instituted on the petition for his canonization, are examples of the grossest and most idolatrous form of saint-worship, in which devotion to the saints is represented as effecting *more* than devotion to our Lord; as if Christ were inaccessible to the prayers of His people, or accessible only, or especially through the intercession of departed saints. "Magdalen de Nunzio of Raino, near Benevento, suffered in 1790, from an abscess in the left breast. A surgeon made an incision to let off the ulcerous matter, lest a gangrene should ensue. A considerable quantity of it ran off, but the gangrene, which had been already formed, continued to eat away the flesh around the seat of the disorder, so that the wound became still

have a tendency to propagate amongst the more ignorant of their people, many serious and fatal errors ;

deeper, and it became necessary to cut away the greater part of the breast. But as she grew rapidly worse, the surgeon ordered the rites of the Church to be administered. In the evening of that day, one of her neighbours coming to see her, brought with her a picture of the saint, with a small piece of his garment. By her advice, the sick woman recommended herself to Alphonsus, and placed the picture upon the wound, and swallowed a few threads of the relic in some water. She then fell into a quiet sleep, and when she arose in the morning, discovered to her great surprise, that she was perfectly cured, and the whole of her breast restored, even that part which had been cut off, nor did she ever afterwards suffer any pain or inconvenience from it. Father Francis of Ottajano, of the reformed Franciscan order, was attacked by violent rheumatic pains, accompanied with fever and spitting of blood, which daily increased, until the physicians pronounced that he had reached an advanced stage of consumption, and had not long to live. In this reduced state of body, and in daily expectation of death, he fervently recommended himself to the patronage of the saint, who had died a few days before, and placed a relic of him upon his

breast, saying, 'If thou art really in heaven, deliver me from this death, so disgusting and so much detested by all.' As soon as he had spoken these words, he fell into a calm sleep, and awoke perfectly cured, to the admiration of his friends, who had supposed that he was already dead." (p. 53.)

The book from which these extracts are taken, would supply many more of the same kind. It is entitled "*Lives of St. Alphonsus Liguori, St. Francis de Girolamo, St. John Joseph of the Cross, St. Pacificus of San Severino, and St. Veronica Giuliani*, whose canonization took place on Trinity Sunday, May 26, 1839, Lond. published by C. Dolman." 12mo. If Romanists will sanction and put forward the gross misrepresentations of Christianity, and of the grounds upon which a sinner is to look for salvation, which this book contains, they are certainly supplying their opponents in controversy, with very tempting arguments in favour of the opinion, that Popery is the apostasy, and the Pope the man of sin. Arguments which weigh with much plausibility and apparent force upon the minds of many, who are neither disposed to disregard the letter of the Scripture, nor are deficient in a love of truth.

and therefore with such persons, the faith, in this great article of our Lord's mediatorial office, is undoubtedly endangered, although it would be unfair, and we may hope untrue, to say that the whole communion in which so serious a danger exists, has renounced or departed from the faith.

The plain and obvious meaning of the prophecy, therefore, is, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith in that great mystery of godliness of which the apostle was speaking, the mystery of our Lord's incarnation, of His manifestation to the Gentiles, and of His ascension into heaven, to the right hand of the Majesty on high. And we have seen that this, which is evidently the most natural interpretation, is in strict accordance with the inferences we have already drawn from the prophecies of Daniel, and is fully confirmed by the many parallel passages of the Apostolic writings, wherein the total rejection of the same great fundamental doctrines of the gospel is distinctly foretold? St. Peter for example tells us that there shall be false teachers in the Christian Church, "who privily shall bring in damnable heresies, denying the Lord that bought them, and bringing upon themselves swift destruction"; "He is Antichrist," says St. John, "that denieth the Father and the Son;" and again, "every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is not of God, and this is that spirit of Antichrist, whereof ye have heard that it shall come, and even now already is it in the world".

¶ 2 Pet. ii. 1.

† 1 John ii. 22, iv. 3.

It may be remarked also, that "to depart from the faith" must imply something more than the private entertainment of heretical or erroneous doctrines; the words seem to describe an open departure from the communion of the apostles, a separation from the unity of the Church, and from the very name and society of Christians. So at least St. John speaks of such as were antichrists in the apostolic age, and whose errors were probably of the same character as those of the Antichrist who shall hereafter be revealed; "They went out from us," he says, "but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us; but they went out, that they might be made manifest that they were not all of us *."

* 1 John, ii. 19. This view of the passage coincides with an opinion already noticed, that Antichrist cannot be revealed until episcopacy is banished from the Church, and monarchical government from all Christian states. See the passages quoted from Bp. Jeremy Taylor, and from Mr. Crosthwaite, note, pp. 244, 245.

Two characteristics of Antichrist's doctrine are, therefore, deducible from the prophecy now before us; first, the denial of the great essential articles of the creed, the incarnation, the ascension, and other doctrines connected with the Divinity of our Lord, (Comp. 1 John, iv. 3); and secondly, an open departure from the unity of the Catholic Church, which,

of course, includes a rejection of episcopal government. And it is remarkable, that these two classes of error have always been closely linked together; from Aërius to Socinus, the same persons who were zealous in propagating false views of the episcopacy of the Church, have also been remarkable for erroneous opinions in regard to our Lord's Person and Divinity. This, however, is a subject too extensive to be here entered upon; but it is well worth the attention of such as have leisure for the consideration of it. I should be sorry to think that all who have rejected episcopacy are actually unsound also in the articles of the creed; but I believe the historical fact to be,

I conclude therefore, that a separation from the communion of the Church, accompanied by a formal and open denial of the essential and fundamental articles of the Christian faith, and particularly the articles of our Lord's incarnation, His manifestation to the Gentiles, and ascension into Heaven, will be among the prominent characteristics of the apostacy of the latter times.

2. Having thus described the nature and characters of the antichristian departure from the faith, the prophecy goes on to foretell the means or manner of its establishment in the world, and mentions particularly certain doctrines which shall be maintained by its votaries, as a substitute perhaps for the faith which they shall supplant.

(1.) They shall "depart from the faith," we are

that all such societies have, sooner or later, degenerated into various degrees of Arian or Sabellian, or Socinian heresy. Witness the tendency to this class of opinions in the non-conformist congregations in England, and in the Calvinian Church of Geneva, in our own times; it is remarkable also, that the same persons who maintain these errors in religion, are almost always remarkable for an opposition to monarchical government in the state. And hence some have thought with St. Hippolytus, that the ten kingdoms of Daniel's fourth monarchy will be *democracies*; τούτων οὖν ἱσομενων, καὶ τῶν ἄνα δαυτύλων

τῆς εἰκότος εἰς δημοκρατίας χωρησάντων, καὶ τῶν ἄνα κεράτων τοῦ τετάρτου θηρίου εἰς ἄνα βασιλείας μερισθέντων, ἴδωμεν σαφίστερον τὰ προκείμενα. καὶ κατανοήσωμεν αὐτὰ ὀφθαλμοφανῶς. De Antichristo, c. 27. But this opinion has certainly no foundation in Scripture, where *kings* are expressly mentioned; and perhaps we are not to take the word *δημοκρατία* in the strict sense of our word *democracy*; for St. Hippolytus, in this passage, speaks of the ten horns of the fourth beast as *kingdoms*, and we may therefore perhaps infer that he used the word *democracies* in a more general signification than it now commonly bears in our language.

told, by "giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils;" and we have seen in the prophecy which was last under consideration, that a similar characteristic was ascribed to the man of sin, whose coming, it was predicted, shall be "after the working of Satan, with all power and signs, and lying wonders." These predictions therefore are manifestly identical; the apostacy shall be brought about by "seducing spirits," or "spirits of error," and by the teaching of devils; and miracles shall be wrought by Satanic influence, to spread the delusion, and to obtain for the doctrines thus impiously propagated a more ready acceptance in the world.

Mr. Mede, however, has proposed a different interpretation of the passage. He conceives that by "seducing spirits" the Apostle meant *doctrines*, and that the word translated "devils," should be taken, not in the sense which it commonly bears in the New Testament and other Christian writings, but in the sense in which the heathen used it, when they employed it to designate the spirits of deified men. He labours to persuade us, therefore, that by "doctrines of devils," the Apostle means doctrines concerning the deified spirits of men regarded as intercessors or mediators with God, and therefore, that the adoration

^t Many MSS. and fathers read πνύμασι πλάνης instead of πλάνοις, a reading which is followed by the Latin Vulgate "attendentes spiritibus erroris." The words προσέχοντες πνύμασι πλάνοις or πλάνης are

manifestly parallel to what we read in 2 Thes. ii. 11, τίμησι αὐτοῖς ὁ Θεὸς ἐνέργειαν πλάνης, especially if we take this ἐνέργεια πλάνης as identical with the ἐνέργεια τοῦ Σατανᾶ mentioned ver. 9.

of the saints, as it is now practised in the communion of the Church of Rome, is the counterpart and accomplishment of the prediction^u.

^u Mr. Mede's exposition of the passage, in his own words, is as follows :

"But I had rather take *spirits* in this place for *Doctrines* themselves; for so Divines observe it to be used 1 John iv. 1, *μὴ παντὶ πνεύματι πιστεύετε*, *Believe not every spirit*, i. e. *every doctrine*, *ἀλλὰ δοκιμάζετε τὰ πνεύματα*, *but try the spirits*, *ἢ ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἴσται*, *if they be of God*; *ὅτι πολλοὶ ψευδοπροφῆται ἐξηλθῶσιν εἰς τὸν κόσμον*, *because many false prophets are gone out into the world*: and so onward in that chapter, *πνεῦμα τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου* the spirit of *Antichrist* signifies the *false doctrine of Antichrist*. So if this sense be admitted, we are something less in suspense than we were, and may guess that this *revolt* should not be *total* but *heretical*. For we shall not easily find the word *Spirit* to be otherwise used but either for the *Doctrines* or *Doctors of Christianity*, or for *Heresies* under the same. It seems therefore to be some revolt from Christ by *idolatry*, even in those who would seem to worship him. But suppose it to be so, yet, still are we in suspense what these *erroneous and idolatrous doctrines* might be: For *idolatry*, as we see in the Jewish apostasies, was of diverse kinds,

as worshipping the Host of Heaven, *Baalims*, and the Gentiles other things besides them. But we shall not be long in doubt, the next words will clear the case, and tell us they shall be *Διδασκαλίαι Δαιμονίων* *Doctrines of dæmons*: not which dæmons or devils are authors of (though that be true) as if the genitive case were active; but *Doctrines concerning dæmons*, the genitive case *Δαιμονίων* being here to be taken passively for the object of those doctrines; as in Hebr. vi. 2, we have *διδασκαλίαι βαπτισμῶν*, *doctrines of baptisms*, and *doctrines of laying on of hands, of the resurrection of the dead, and of eternal judgment*, that is, doctrines about, and concerning all these. And the same use may elsewhere be found even with the word *Doctrine*: as Acts xiii. 12, *διδασκὰ τοῦ Κυρίου*, *the doctrine of the Lord*, that is, concerning him. So Titus ii. 10, *διδασκαλία τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Θεοῦ*, *the doctrine of God our Saviour*. And Gal. ii. 20, we have *πίστις τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ*, *the faith of the Son of God*, that is, concerning him. Semblably in my text, *Διδασκαλίαι διαμονίων* are *doctrines of dæmons* or *Doctrinæ Deastrorum*; that is, the Gentiles idolatrous Theology of Dæmons should be

It seems impossible, however, to take "doctrines of devils" or "demons," to be the same as "doctrines concerning demons," especially as the word rendered *doctrines* has commonly an active signification in the writings of St. Paul, importing rather the teaching of devils, that is to say, instruction given or inculcated by them, than passive doctrines or opinions concerning them. It is the same word for example, which the Apostle has elsewhere employed when he says, "whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning," *εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν διδασκαλίαν* ; and again, "he that teacheth, let him wait on teaching," *ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ* ; and in the very chapter from which the text is taken, "give attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine," that is "to teaching," *τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ* ; and, "take heed unto thyself and to the doctrine," or teaching, *τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ* ; in all which passages active teaching, not passive opinion, is intended ^v.

revived among Christians. For I take the word *Δαιμόνιον* or *Δαίμων* (for all is one) not in that worst sense (which no author but the Scripture useth) but in the better or more indifferent sense, as it was supposed and taken among the Theologists and Philosophers of the Gentiles ; and as it is also sometimes taken in Scripture, as I shall show in due time." Apostasie of the latter times, Part i. chap. ii. (Works, p. 626.)

^v Rom. xv. 4.

^w Rom. xii. 7.

^x 1 Tim. iv. 13, 16.

^y The word *διδασκαλία* occurs in one of our Lord's sayings, "teaching for doctrines, *διδάσκοντες διδασκαλίας*, the commandments of men." Matt. xv. 9. Mark. vii. 7. With this exception, it is peculiar to the epistles of St. Paul, in which it is found nineteen times ; and although it is very frequently rendered *doctrine*, in an apparently passive signification, yet, in almost every place where it occurs it would much

We may object also to this interpretation, that the word rendered *devils*, upon the meaning of which Mr. Mede's reasoning very mainly depends, is never

more naturally bear the sense of *teaching*, or *instruction*; for example:

Eph. iv. 14, "every wind of doctrine."

1 Tim. i. 10, "contrary to sound doctrine," *ἐναντιοῦσθ διδασκαλίαν*.

1 Tim. iv. 6, "nourished up in the words of faith and of good doctrine," *τῆς καλῆς δ.*

1 Tim. v. 17, "elders who labour in the word and doctrine."

1 Tim. vi. 3, "If any man teach otherwise and consent notto the doctrine which is according to godliness."

2 Tim. iii. 10, "thou hast fully known my doctrine, manner of life, &c."

2 Tim. iii. 16, "all Scripture is.....profitable for doctrine, &c."

2 Tim. iv. 3, "they will not endure sound doctrine."

Tit. i. 9, "that he may be able by sound doctrine to exhort."

Tit. ii. 1, "speak thou the things which become sound doctrine."

Tit. ii. 7, "in doctrine shewing uncorruptness."

In all these passages, as well as in those already quoted, active teaching, or instruction, is evidently intended: and also in the following, the word will bear the same meaning, although not perhaps so as to enable us to say that it cannot

have the other:

Col. ii. 22, "after the commandments and doctrines of men."

1 Tim. vi. 1, "that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed," *τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ἡ διδασκαλία*. The word *his* is added by our translators.

The only remaining passage is Tit. ii. 10, to which Mede refers in support of his hypothesis; and at first sight it may indeed seem as if "the doctrine of God our Saviour," *τὴν διδασκαλίαν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Θεοῦ*, was "the doctrine concerning or relating to God our Saviour;" but surely the more natural sense is, "the doctrine or instruction taught us by God our Saviour."

Joh. Christ. Wolf, in his *Curæ Phil. et Crit.* tom. iv. p. 458, says, "in eodem [Novo Testamento] *διδασκαλία* gignendi casui juncta semper ad docentem respicit." See also, "Critical Exam. of the late new text and version of the New Testament, by Leonard Twells," 8vo., Lond. 1731, where the same opinion is expressed, Part i. p. 116, Part ii. p. 20, and 32. Wolf refers to Hector Gothofredus Masius' *Disputat. singularis de doctrina Dæmoniorum*; *Disputationum* tom. ii. p. 168, sq. a work that I have not had the means of consulting.

used in Scripture in the heathen sense of a deified hero ; except perhaps in a single passage, where it is found in the mouths of the Athenian philosophers who said of St. Paul, “ He seemeth to be a setter forth of strange gods” or “demons”, ξένων δαιμονίων. In this place it is very possible that the word may have been used in the sense in which it was commonly employed by the Greeks ; and when St. Paul replied, “ ye men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious,” δεισιδαιμονεστέρους ὑμᾶς θεωρῶ ^a,—“ I perceive that ye are too much devoted to the worship of demons,” he doubtless employed the phrase to denote the idolatry of the heathen, the only sense in which it was applicable to his hearers, or in which they could possibly have understood what he said. But this will not prove that in writing to St. Timothy, who had been instructed from his infancy in the Scriptures, the Apostle should have employed the word in its heathen signification, a signification in which it was very little likely to be understood by any one who was familiarized to the use made of it in Jewish and Christian writings ^b.

^z Acts xvii. 18.

^a Acts xvii. 22.

^b Mede's argument has been so fully refuted by Mr. Maitland, (Second Enquiry, p. 110—116,) that I have not thought it necessary to enter at any great length into the further consideration of it. That the word *dæmon* is

always used by Christian writers to denote an evil spirit, is asserted by Origen, who accuses Celsus of ignorance for supposing that Christians ever applied the term to the holy angels. His words are Ὡς μή εὐαγνοῦς διὰ τὰς ἐκράς ἡμῶν γραφὰς ὁ Κέλσος ἑαυτῷ ἀποκρίνεται ὡς ἀφ' ἡμῶν, ὅτι ἄλλο τι γένος παρὰ Θεοῦ

And further, when we consider that in the parallel prophecy in the epistle to the Thessalonians the

φαμεν τοὺς καταβαίνοντας ἐπ' ἐνερ-
γασία τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀγγέλους, καὶ
φθοῖν, ὡς τὸ εἶδος, λελθῆναι ἂν αὐ-
τοὺς ὑφ' ἡμῶν δαίμονας· οὐχ ἐρῶν,
ὅτι τὸ τῶν δαιμόνων ὄνομα οὐδὲ
μέσσην ἐστίν, ὡς τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐν
οἷς τινες μὲν ἄστυοι, τινες δὲ φαῦλοι
εἰσιν· κ. τ. λ. Contra Cels. lib.
v. n. 5. Opp. Tom. i. p. 580.
D. Edit. Bened. And St. Au-
gustine makes the same state-
ment; “Nos autem, sicut
Scriptura loquitur, secundum
quam Christiani sumus, ange-
los quidem partim bonos, par-
tim malos, nunquam verò bo-
nos dæmones legimus: sed ubi-
cumque illarum litterarum hoc
nomen positum reperitur, sive
dæmones, sive dæmonia dican-
tur, non nisi maligni signifi-
cantur spiritus. Et hanc
loquendi consuetudinem in
tantum populi usquequaque
secuti sunt, ut eorum etiam
qui pagani appellantur, et deos
multos ac dæmones colendos
esse contendunt, nullus ferè
sit tam litteratus et doctus,
qui audeat in laude vel sermo
suo dicere, Dæmonem habes:
sed cuilibet hoc dicere volu-
erit, non se aliter accipi, quàm
maledicere voluisse, dubitare
non possit. Quæ igitur nos
caussa compellit, ut post offen-
sionem aurium tam multarum,
ut jam penè sint omnium, quæ
hoc verbum non nisi in malam
partem audire, consueverunt,
quod diximus cogamur expo-
nere, cum possimus angelorum
nomine adhibito, eamdem offen-

sionem quæ nomine dæmonum
fieri poterat, evitare?” De
Civit. Dei. lib. ix. c. 19.

The only passage from an
ancient writer which Mede has
been able to adduce in support
of his opinion, is the well
known gloss of St. Epiphanius
on the words διδασκαλίας δαιμονίων
In his account of the heresy
of the Antidicomarianitæ, who
denied the perpetual virginity
of the Blessed Virgin Mary,
Epiphanius incidentally notices
the opposite error of the Colly-
ridians, who worshipped the
Virgin instead of God, ἀντι-
Θεοῦ ταύτην παρυσάγειν ἰσοῦδα-
κότας, καὶ σπονδαζόντας, καὶ ἐν
ἐμβροτήσῃ τινὶ, καὶ φρενοβλαβείᾳ
φερομένους. This error, he tells
us, was introduced into Arabia
by some women who came
there from Thrace, [probably
about A.D. 373,] and took
upon them to offer cakes to the
Virgin; διηγούνται γὰρ ὡς τινὲς
γυναῖκες ἐκίψτε ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ ἀπὸ
τῶν μερῶν τῆς Θράκης, τοῦτό γε τὸ
κινεφώνημα ἐννόχασιν, ὡς εἰς ὄνομα
τῆς ἀειπαρθένου κολλυρίδα τινὰ ἐπι-
τελεῖν, καὶ συνάγεισθαι ἐπιτοαυτὸ,
καὶ εἰς ὄνομα τῆς ἁγίας Παρθένου
ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτρον τι πειρᾶσθαι ἀθεμίτη,
καὶ βλασφήμῳ ἐπιχειρεῖν πράγματι,
καὶ εἰς ὄνομα αὐτῆς ἱερουργεῖν διὰ
γυναικῶν· ὅπῃ τὸ πᾶν ἐστὶν ἀσιβεί,
καὶ ἀθέμιτον, ἡλλοιωμένοι ἀπὸ τοῦ
κρηρύματος τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος·
to which censure of this prac-
tice he adds, ὡς τε εἶναι τὸ πᾶν
διαβολικὸν ἐργον, καὶ πνύματος
ἀκαθάρετος διδασκαλία, πληροῦται

coming of the man of sin is expressly ascribed to the working or power of Satan, a name to which no ambi-

γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους τὸ, ἀποστή-
σονται τινες τῆς υἱοῦς διδασκαλίας,
προσέχοντες μύθοις, καὶ διδασκα-
λίας δαιμονίων. ἔσονται γὰρ, φησί,
νεκροὶ λατρεύοντες ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ
Ἰσραὴλ ἐπαβάσθησαν· καὶ ἡ τῶν
ἀγίων κατὰ καιρὸν εἰς Θεὸν δόξα
ἄλλοις γέγονε τοῖς μὴ ὁρώσι τὴν
ἀλήθειαν εἰς πλάνην. HÆR. lxxviii.
n. 23.

It is evident however from the context of this passage, and especially from the clause ὡς τι εἶναι, &c. which Mede has omitted to quote, that Epiphanius took the phrase διδασκαλίαι δαιμονίων for the teaching of evil spirits, and not, as Mede would persuade us, for the worship of dead men. The words of St. Paul are quoted to prove that the Collyridian heresy was of satanic origin, διαβολικὸν ἐργήμα, and therefore whatever be the intent of the clause ἔσονται γὰρ νεκροὶ λατρεύοντες, it is quite plain that it cannot be intended as a paraphrase upon προσέχοντες διδασκαλίαις δαιμονίων.

It is manifest also, that Epiphanius quoted from memory, as he often seems to have done, and probably mixed up this passage with his recollections of 2 Tim. iv. 3, 4. ἔσται γὰρ καιρὸς ὅτε τῆς υἱανούσης διδασκαλίας οὐκ ἀνίσχονται..... καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς ἀληθείας τὴν ἀκοὴν ἀποστρέψουσιν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦς μύθους ἐκτραπήσονται. Comp. 1 Tim. i. 4, and Tit. i. 14, where the words προσέχων μύθοις are used by the apostle. It is hardly safe therefore, from a quotation so

loosely made, to draw any inference as to the readings which may have been found in the MSS. of St. Paul's epistles used by Epiphanius, or to argue that he "intended to explain πίστις, the faith, by υἱοῦς διδασκαλία, the sound doctrine, and πνεύματα πλάνης, erroneous spirits, by μύθοι, fables." (Mede's works, p. 637.)

As to the question whether ἔσονται γὰρ νεκροὶ λατρεύοντες be the genuine words of St. Paul, or the marginal gloss of some scribe or annotator, I would only remark that too much seems to have been inferred from the word φησί with which Epiphanius introduces them, and which can signify only that he considered the worship of the dead as a doctrine taught by demons, according to the apostle's prophecy that some doctrines shall be so taught. Mede however does not contend for this clause as an emendation of the text, for "take it which way you will," he says, "it will follow that some such matter as we speak of, was in times past supposed to be in this text and prophecy;" (Works, p. 637;) but surely not in the sense he contends for when he would persuade us that the δαιμονία were the same as the νεκροὶ who were worshipped; for Epiphanius speaks of the dæmons as the authors not the objects of the doctrine which he condemns.

guity can be attached, this question ought to be regarded as in a great measure decided. By taking the words "doctrines of devils" in the sense which they ordinarily bear in the New Testament, and in which they have been unanimously understood by ancient Christian writers, the two prophecies are in this particular also strictly parallel, as well as in the many other circumstances that we have already pointed out.

I conclude, therefore, that the apostacy or departure from the faith which is here predicted, will be brought about by the agency of evil spirits, insinuating false doctrines, either secretly and by means of human agents, or openly by the aid of "lying wonders;" persuading men to reject the Christian faith, as a manifest fable, and blasphemously "to deny the Lord that bought them."

(2.) A further description of the means or agents by which the apostacy shall be brought about, is given in the next clause of the prophecy; "speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their conscience seared with a hot iron."

It does not appear very clearly from our English version, whether these words refer to the devils, who were mentioned just before, or to the "some" who shall depart from the faith. The sense would probably induce most English readers to imagine that this last was the real meaning; that they who shall depart from the faith, and shall give heed to seducing spirits and the doctrines of devils, shall also speak lies in

hypocrisy, having their conscience seared with a hot iron.

But a reference to the original will at once convince you that neither of these constructions can be the true one, and that the passage may be literally translated thus: “ Some shall depart from the faith,

“ I have here followed Mede, whose version of this passage appears to me the most natural, and most reconcileable with the syntax; his arguments comprehend the substance of what is usually found in commentators upon this subject:

“ But my last reason, whereunto I think I may trust, is, that the Syntax of the words in the Greek is incapable of such an *intransitive* construction, and consequently of the sense depending thereon. For the persons intimated in the former verse are expressed *in casu recto*, as *τινὲς προσέχοντες*: but the persons intended here we find in the genitive, *ψευδολόγων, κικαντηριασμένων, κωλύοντων*, which I cannot see how they can agree with *τινὲς προσέχοντες*, after the manner of *intransitive* construction, without breach of grammatical congruity not elsewhere sampled in our Apostle's Epistles. Indeed they would agree with *δαιμονίων*, but that would be a harsh sense every way; for either we must say (as some do) that by *devils* are meant *devilish* men, or men led by the devil, which is an hard signification; or else it would be a stranger sense, and I think not over-pliable to the

usual exposition, to say *That devils should lie, have seared consciences and forbid marriage or meats*: so that *Beza*, with others, had rather confess a breach of Syntax, than incur the inconvenience of such a forced sense: *major est habita* (saith he) *sententiæ quàm constructionis ratio*; *The Apostle heeded more the matter than he did the grammar*. But what needs this, so long as there is a better way to salve it? namely, to construe the words *transitively*, making all these genitive cases to be governed of *ἐν ὑποκρίσει* as *ἐν ὑποκρίσει ψευδολόγων*, by or through the feigning of liars; *ἐν ὑποκρίσει κικαντηριασμένων*, &c. through the feigning of those who had their conscience seared; and so forward. Which construction is observed and followed by *Andreas Hyperius*, one of our reformed writers, who translates, *per simulationem falsiloquorum*, &c., and expounds it, *de modo quo fallunt spiritus impostores*; *fallunt per simulationem seu hypocrysin falsiloquorum*, &c. [As also *Castellio* seems to understand it, translating *Per simulationem hominum falsiloquorum*.] And I believe that many have taken

giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils; through the hypocrisy of liars, of them that are seared in their conscience, of them that forbid to marry, and command to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth."

Upon this view of the passage, therefore, this latter portion of it must be considered as describing not so

it so; for our late *Latine* translations are indifferent to be taken either way. Howsoever it be, I see no way but this to keep the syntax true and even, and wholly to avoid the fore-mentioned inconveniences; which as it is easy and obvious, and not strained, so I hope to let you see the *event* to have been most answerable thereunto; that *this was the manner*, and this the means, this the quality of the persons whereby the doctrine of dæmons *was first brought in, advanced and maintained in the Church*, viz. *through the hypocrisie, feigning, craft, or counterfeiting of those who told lies, of those who had their consciences seared, &c.* As for the use of the preposition [*Εν*] to signify *causam, instrumentum, or modum actionis*, he that is not a stranger in the Scripture, knows it to be the most frequent, the Greek text borrowing it from the use of the Hebrew preposition כ, which the Hebrews call הָעַךְ as when it signifies *In, ב' הכל* (i.) *subjecti*. But two or three examples will not do amiss. Matt. v. 13. *If the*

salt hath lost its savour, ἐν τίνι ἀλισθῆσεται; wherewith shall it be salted? Acts xvii. 31. Because God hath appointed a day in which he will judge the world in righteousness, ἐν ἀνδρὶ ᾧ ὧρεται, by the man whom he hath ordained. [Vide etiam Eph. iv. 14.] 2 Peter, iii. 1. *I stir up your pure minds ἐν ὑπομνήσει* by way of remembrance. Tit. i. 9. *That he may be able ἐν διδασκαλίᾳ ὑγιαίνουσῃ* by sound doctrine to exhort and convince the gainsayers. And most naturally to the business we have in hand, 2 Thess. ii. 9, 10, of the man of sin, whose coming (saith the apostle) is after the working of Satan ἐν πάσῃ δυνάμει καὶ σημείοις καὶ τέρασι ψεύδους, καὶ ἐν πάσῃ ἀπάτῃ τῆς ἀδικίας, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, (or through them) and through all deceivableness of unrighteousness, &c. So in my text ἐν ὑποκρίσει ψευδολόγων, &c. *through the hypocrisie of liars, &c.*" Apostasie of the latter times, Part ii. ch. 1. (Works, p. 675, 676.)

much the apostacy itself as the means by which it is to be propagated and established in the world. It tells us, not that they who shall depart from the faith shall hold these doctrines, although this perhaps is implied, but that they shall depart from the faith, in consequence of their giving heed to seducing spirits, and to the teaching or doctrines of devils : through the hypocrisy of certain persons who are characterized as liars, as seared in conscience, and as propagating erroneous doctrines respecting the lawfulness of marriage, and the use of meats.

These false doctrines are described in terms so brief and general, that it is perhaps impossible, prior to the fulfilment of the prophecy, to determine with any certainty their precise character. This much, however, seems beyond a doubt, that a total prohibition of marriage in itself, and not a restriction imposed upon some particular class or order of men, must be intended in the words which may be literally rendered "forbidding," or "prohibiting marriage," *κωλύόντων γαμεῖν*. But whether this prohibition is to be enforced on principles similar to those of the ancient Gnostic and Manichæan sects ^d, or whether it is

^d The following paragraph from Dr. Hammond's Commentary on the text, will give the reader a fair statement of the extent to which doctrines, strikingly similar to those predicted in the text, prevailed amongst the heretics of the first and second centuries :—

"Many heretics there were in the ancient church, which

prohibited marriage, and taught abstinence from meats, as necessary, having much of their doctrine from the Pythagorean philosophers. Such were the Encratitæ, Montanists, and Marcionites. But these came after the Apostles' times, and are not so probably spoken of here as those which were present then in the

to be founded on principles such as are now avowed by the infidels of our own times; the terms of the prophecy afford us no certain data for determining.

The other instance of false teaching ascribed in the prophecy to the hypocritical liars, who shall be the agents in the hands of Satan for bringing about the apostacy from the faith, is "commanding to abstain from meats;" and here again, we are met by

church. And such, saith *Ignatius*, there were in the Apostles' times, *Ep. ad Philad.* and such, saith *Irenæus*, was *Saturninus*, l. i. c. 22, who with *Simon Magus* was the father of the Gnostics. Of him *Theodoret* saith, that he was the first that among Christians affirmed marriage to be the work of the Devil, and commanded to abstain from the flesh of beasts. And indeed that this was generally the doctrine of the Gnostics, appears from *Clem. Alexand. Strom.* l. 3, where speaking of them he saith, they doe ἐνφύμῳς δι' ἐγκρατίας ἀσιεῖν, ὥς τε τὴν κτίσιν καὶ τὸν δημιουργὸν, διδάσκοντες μὴ διὺν παραδέχσθαι γάμον καὶ παιδοποιεῖν, μηδὲ ἀντισάγειν τῷ κόσμῳ δυστυχήσοντας ἐτέρους, μηδὲ ἐπιχορηγεῖν τῷ θανάτῳ τροφὴν, *under a pretence of continence they committed all villany against the creation and the Creator, teaching that men ought not to receive marriage, nor beget children, nor bring into the world such as would be miserable, nor furnish death with food or nourishment, that is,*

people the world with men, whom death will consequently feed on. And again, Εἰσὶν οἱ πορνίαν ἀντικρὺς τὸν γάμον λέγουσι, καὶ ὑπὸ διαβόλου ταυτὴν παραδίδοσθαι δογματίζουσιν, *there are that affirm, and teach for doctrine, all marriage to be fornication, that is, utterly unlawful, and that it is brought in and delivered by the devil.* p. 446. So *Irenæus*, l. i. c. 22. "*Nubere et generare à Satana dicunt esse, The Gnostics affirm marriage and generating to be from the devil.* So the *Author of the Constitutions*, l. 4, 8, τὸν γάμον ἀθετοῦσι, *they condemn marriage,* and set it at nought, ἀγαμίαν διδάσκουσι, *teach not to marry* at all, l. 6, 10, and for meats, τινὰ τῶν βρωμάτων βδελύσσονται, *they abominate some kinds of meats*, l. 6, 8, and c. 26, βρωματὰ τινα φανλίζουσι, *they affirm some meats to be ill.*"

For additional information the reader is referred to Dr. Burton's Bampton Lectures; and Tillemont, *Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire Ecclesiastique.* Tome ii. p. 410, sq.

the same difficulty of determining the precise character of the error which is foretold^c. It is certain, however, that the word translated "meats" which to a modern English reader, may seem to mean flesh, or animal food, and which many modern commentators have actually so interpreted^f, is much more general

^c It will be observed that the word *commanding* in this passage, has been supplied by our Translators, the construction of the original being *καλυόντων ἀπέχισθαι βρωμάτων*. Some explain this as a double negative, which in the idiom of the Greek language, is equivalent, not to an affirmative, as it would be in English, but to a stronger negative. Others suppose a resolution of the negative implied in *καλυόντων*, as if it were equivalent to *præcipientium ne*; and instances of a similar construction have been quoted from Greek and Latin authors. Others again suppose an ellipsis of some such word as *καλιόντων*, (See Schleusner, in voc. *βρῶμα*, and Rosenmüller, Schol. in loc.) but all agree that our English version has given the true signification of the passage. Œcumenius (Comm. in 1 Tim. iv. 3,) thus notices and explains the difficulty:—*Ἀπέχισθαι βρωμάτων. οὐκ ἔστι σφάλμα καλλιγραφικόν τὸ, ἀπέχισθαι βρωμάτων, ὡς ἱεῖοις ἔδοξεν, οὐδὲ παρόραμα ἀποστολικόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀρθῶς εἰς τὴν Ἀττίδα συνήθην διαπιφρασμένον. ὥσπερ τὸ, ἐκάλυψεν αὐτὸν μὴ ποιεῖν τὰ ἀτοπα, οὐ λέγει ὡς εἰς ἀτοπίαν αὐτὸν προὔτρεπεν, καὶ τὸ ἀπέτρεπεν αὐτὸν μὴ*

*προσπερούειν φίλοις, οὐχὶ φίλοις προσπερούειν, ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον. καὶ πάλιν ἐκάλυψεν μὴ κλέπτειν, οὐχ ὅτι ἐπέτρεπε τὴν κλοπὴν. καὶ ἐκάλυεν ἀπέχισθαι ἀρρήτοποιίας, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπήγειν ἀπὸ τῆς τοιαύτης πράξεως. οὕτως καὶ ἐκάλυεν ἀπέχισθαι βρωμάτων, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐκάλυεν ἀπὸ τῆς βρώσεως. πολλὴ δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἔξω ἡ χρῆσις. Dr. Burton says, "The fullest illustration of this idiom, which I have met with, is by Ch. Th. Saver, *Observata ad loca quædam prioris Ep. ad Tim.*" Bampton Lect. p. 436. note^c.*

^f This mistake has been fallen into by some from whom it was hardly to have been expected. Thus Whitby says, "*To abstain from meats.*" That this is done in the Roman Church, by a law obliging some orders of monks to abstain from all *flesh*, see Mr. Mede." And Mr. Trollope (*Analecta Theol.* vol. ii. in loc.) says, "with respect to the errors denounced in ver. 3, their perfect agreement with the *celibacy* of the Romish priesthood, and the total or partial abstinence from *flesh*, as enjoined by that Church, is sufficiently obvious." Mr. Mede, however, is so far from countenancing this oversight, that

in its signification; it denotes food, whether animal or vegetable; in short, whatsoever is employed for the aliment and sustenance of man.

But it will be asked, how is it possible to imagine that any sect of men should be so insane as to enjoin upon their followers a total abstinence from food? or how is it possible that a sect which demanded this species of self-immolation from its followers, should ever become formidable, or obtain any footing in the world?

To these questions I would reply, that even though we should interpret the prophecy thus literally, the folly predicted will not be without example in the annals of human error; for we know that austerities as revolting, and voluntary death, by means as formidable, have been submitted to by multitudes, and have for ages been enjoined as an integral part of many popular and widely spread religious systems^s.

It is not, however, necessary to understand the

he takes *βρώματα* to imply "all things needful for the maintenance of life," and therefore contends that to *abstain from meats*, in the text, must include, not only the monastic prohibition of flesh, but also the vows of poverty. Apostasie of the latter times. Part ii. ch. 7.

^s The most remarkable instance, perhaps, of voluntary suicide, recommended, under the name of religion, by a sect pretending to Christianity, was the *endura* or fasting to death, practised among the Albigen-

ses of Thoulouse, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It seems that these heretics recommended the *endura* to such persons as were received into the communion of their sect during their last illness, or what was supposed to be so; and that these unhappy dupes of a miserable superstition were taught to believe, that by submitting to be thus starved to death, their everlasting happiness was secured. Abundant proofs of the existence of this cruel and monstrous practice among these

prediction in this extreme sense ; for the words which follow suggest, and authorize a limitation ; intimating as they do, that the predicted command to abstain from meats will be in some sense a denial that God had created them, or that the permission to make use of them, which His word contains, is sufficient to justify our receiving them ;—a denial in fact that they are “sanctified” by that permission, “by the word of God,” and by the “prayer” and “thanksgiving” of the receiver ^h.

The prophecy therefore describes, not perhaps an absolute prohibition of all sustenance, but a command to abstain from certain kinds of food, under a notion similar to that contended for by the ancient Manichees and Gnostics, that they are unlawful or unfit for use. It does not predict or condemn an occasional abstinence at certain times or seasons from all food, or from such articles of food as at

heretics, will be found in the Book of Sentences of the Inquisition of Thoulouse, published by Limborch, at the end of his History of the Inquisition. See also Mr. Maitland's “Facts and Documents, illustrative of the History, &c., of the ancient Albigenses and Waldenses,” pp. 250, 285, 283, a work in which the reader will find a full account of the opinions and practices of these celebrated sects, and a satisfactory refutation of the extraordinary paradox maintained by some English divines, and lately put forward again by Mr. Faber, that the Albigenses were not infected with Mani-

chæan errors.

The well known superstitions of the natives of India, exhibit numerous instances of self-immolation performed from a religious motive, and widely spread, nay popular, for centuries, among an intelligent, and not in other respects an uncivilized, people. These examples, therefore, should convince us of the danger of reasoning *a priori* about the impossibility or improbability of even the most literal interpretation of the words “commanding to abstain from meats.”

^h 1 Tim. iv. 3—5.

other times are permitted to be used ; but an abstinence under the notion that the meats prohibited are in their own nature unclean or unfit for use ; a denial in short of the principle, “that every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving, for it is sanctified by the word of God and prayer¹.”

III. It remains now to examine, as fully as my limits will permit, the most remarkable interpretations that have been given of this prophecy, by those commentators and expositors who suppose it to be already, either wholly or in part, fulfilled.

1. A large number of the ancients, as well as several very eminent modern divines, have applied this prophecy to the Gnostic and Manichæan heretics, who, it is well known, maintained errors remarkably similar to the false doctrines, or practices, foretold by the Apostle ; prohibiting marriage, and commanding their disciples to abstain from various kinds of food.

This opinion has been supported with great learning and ability by many of our divines, and it is also, as

¹ See what St. Augustine has said of the grounds upon which abstinence from flesh, roots, milk, &c. was enjoined by the ancient Manichæan sects, *De morib. Manichæor.* cap. xv. et seq. (*Opp. tom. i. col. 713. Ed. Bened.*) and *De hæresibus ad Quodvultdeum*, n. 46. (*Opp. tom. viii. col. 13.*) Of the Tatianists or Encratitæ, he says, (*De hæres. n. 25.*)

“Tatiani, a Tatiano quodam instituti, qui et Encratitæ appellati sunt, nuptias damnant, atque omnino pares eas fornicationibus aliisque corruptionibus faciunt: nec recipiunt in suorum numerum conjugio utentem, sive marem, sive fæminam. Non vescuntur carnibus, easque omnes abominantur.” See also Dr. Burton’s *Bampton Lectures*, Note 61, p. 438.

I have said, a very ancient interpretation of the prophecy¹; but it is, I think, untenable for many reasons.

¹In Dr. Burton's Bampton Lectures, the reader will find almost every thing that can be said in favour of the interpretation which supposes this and the parallel prophecies of the New Testament to have had their complete fulfilment in the various forms of Gnostic heresy with which the primitive church was infested. See particularly his fifth Lecture, and the notes on it.

The Fathers very generally apply this prophecy to the Gnostic heretics, most of whom prohibited marriage and the use of certain meats. Thus St. Irenæus, (lib. i. c. 28,) speaking of Tatian and his followers, says;—"Ab his autem, qui prædicti sunt, jam multæ propagines multarum hæresum factæ sunt, eo quod multi ex ipsis, immo omnes velint doctores esse, et abscedere quidem ab hæresi in qua fuerunt; Ut exempli gratia dicamus: a Saturnino et Marcione, qui vocantur Continentes (ἡσκρατεῖς) abstinentiam a nuptiis annuntiaverunt, frustantes antiquam plasmationem Dei, et oblique accusantes eum, qui et masculum et fæminam ad generationem hominum fecit: et eorum quæ dicuntur apud eos animalia (τῶν λεγομένων παρ' αὐτοῖς ἑμφύχων) abstinentiam induxerunt, ingrati existentes ei, qui omnia fecit, Deo." The Greek of this passage has been preserv-

ed by Eusebius, Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 29. St. Athanasius applies 1 Tim. iv. 1, in conjunction with Tit. i. 14, and 2 Tim. iii. 12, to the Arians, (Epist. ad Episcopos Ægypti et Libyæ. n. 20. Opp. tom. i. p. 230. B. Ed. Bened. Patav. 1777.) and again, in conjunction with Luke xxi. 8, Epist. encyclic. ad episcopos, n. 5, ibid. p. 316, B. St. Epiphanius applies the prophecy to the Gnostics, (Hær. xxvi. n. 16, p. 98,) ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Τιμόθειον ἐπιστολῇ περὶ τούτων λέγει· ὅτι ἐν ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις ἐνστήσονται καιροὶ χαλεποί. ἔσονται γὰρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι φιλήδονοι, μᾶλλον ἢ φιλόθεοι. καὶ πάλιν κωλύοντων γαμῖν, ἀπέχισθαι βρωμάτων, κικαυτηρίας μὲν τὴν συνειδήσιν, ὅτι τὸ μὲν γαμῖν μετὰ σωφροσύνης, καὶ τεκνογονεῖν κωλύουσι, κ. τ. λ. In another place he applies the same prophecies to the Phrygastæ, or Montanists, Παῦλος δὲ ὁ ἀγιάτατος ἀπόστολος προφητεύων ἔλεγε· τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ῥητῶς λέγει· ἐν ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις ἐνστήσονται καιροὶ χαλεποί, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. καὶ πάλιν ἄλλοτε, ὅτι ἀποστήσονται τινες τῆς ὑγιαίνουσας διδασκαλίας, προσέχοντες πλάνας, καὶ διδασκαλίας δαιμονίων, κωλύοντων γαμῖν, ἀπέχισθαι βρωμάτων, ἃ ὁ Θεὸς ἔκτισεν εἰς μετάλληψιν ἡμῖν, τοῖς μετ' εὐχαριστίας ὡς σαφῶς ἐφ' ὑμῖν, καὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις ἡμῖν πεπληρωται ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν περκειμένων. αἱ γὰρ πλείους τῶν αἰρέσεων τούτων, τοῦ γαμῖν κωλύουσι, ἀπέχισθαι βρωμάτων παραγγέλλουσι, οὐχ ὅτι

In the first place, the apostacy described by the Apostle, is assigned in the prophecy to the times im-

πολιτείας προτρέπομένοι, οὐχ ἵκεν ἀρετῆς μίζονος, καὶ βραβείων, καὶ στεφάνων, ἀλλὰ βδελυκτὰ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου γενημένα ἡγούμενοι. Hær. xlviii. n. 8, p. 409, 410. Also to the Hieracitæ, or followers of Hieracas, ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτῳ, καὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις αὐτοῦ πληροῦται τὸ, κικαυτηριασμένοι τὴν συνήθειαν, καὶ καλύονταν γαμῶν, ἀπύχιστοι βρωμάτων, κ. τ. λ. Hær. lxvii. n. 8, p. 716. We have seen (vid. note ^b, p. 301) that he has also applied the prophecy, or at least the first verse of it, to the Collyridians; and in another place he tells us that it was fulfilled in the Valentinians, περὶ ὧν φησὶν ὁ ἀγίατος ἀπόστολος Παῦλος, ἐν ὑστίροις καιροῖς ἀποστήσονται τινες, κ. τ. λ. Hær. xxxi. n. 34, p. 206. Hilary the deacon, (A.D. 330,) who is supposed to have been the author of the commentaries ascribed to St. Ambrose, applies the prophecy to the heretics of the fourth century; “—Quæ [doctrina] nunc in marcionitis, quamvis pæne defecerunt, patricianis, aut maxime in manichæis denotatur. Hi enim et Christum natum negant, et nuptias prohibent, et abstinendum a cibis tradunt.” Comm. in 1 Tim. iv. 1—5. (Opp. B. Ambros. Append. tom. ii. 296. F. Ed. Bened.) St. Augustine applies the prophecy to the Manichæan heresy; in his book against Faustus (lib. xv. c. 10,) he says, “At ego vos plane

prædictos lego, non solum a prophetis aliquanto obscurius, verum et ab Apostolo expressius. Sed videte quemadmodum. *Spiritus*, inquit, *manifeste dicit*, &c. Hoc quemadmodum in vobis impleta sint, et luce clarius omnium qui vos noverunt oculos tangit, et supra pro tempore ostendimus.” Comp. also lib. xxx. and Tract. ix. in Joannis Evang. c. 2. St. Chrysostom, (Hom. xii. in 1 Tim. Opp. tom. xi. 610. B. Ed. Bened.) Οὐ περὶ Ἰουδαίων λέγει ταῦτα· πῶς γὰρ τὸ, Ἐν ὑστίροις καιροῖς, καὶ τὸ, Ἀποστήσονται τινες τῆς πίστεως, ἔχει χώραν; ἀλλὰ περὶ Μανιχαίων καὶ τῶν ἀρχηγῶν τούτων. Πνεύματα δὲ πλάνης ἐκάλισεν αὐτοὺς ἐκότης· ὑπὸ γὰρ ἑκείνων ἐνεργοῦμενοι, ταῦτα ἐφθέγγαντο. Theodoret, (Comm. in loc.) Μυστῶν γὰρ καὶ τὸν γάμον, καὶ τὸν βρωμάτων τὰ πλείστα ἀποκαλοῦσιν ἵνα τὸν τοιούτων δημιουργὸν ἐνυβρίσωσι. ταῦτα μίνοι ποιοῦσιν εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν, ὥστε πρόσφασιν ἐντεῦθεν τοὺς μεταλαμβάνοντας εἰς εὐχαριστίαν λαμβάνειν, καὶ χορηγὸν ἀνυμνῶν. καλῶς δὲ τὸ καλύοντων γαμῶν τίθειν. οὐδὲ γὰρ τὴν ἀγαμίαν καὶ τὴν ἐγκράτειαν διαβάλλει, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀναγκαζόντων νόμῳ ταῦτα μετέπειτα κατηγορεῖ. St. Gregory the Great, (Moral. lib. xvi. c. 6. Opp. tom. i. col. 504.) “Nam sunt nonnulli, qui ita virginitati carnis student, ut nuptias damnent; et sunt nonnulli, qui ita abstinentiam laudant, ut sumentes alimenta necessaria detes-

mediately preceding the second coming of our Lord; this conclusion we have already drawn, not only from the use of the phrase in the New Testament, but also from the parallelism which we have shewn to exist between this prophecy and that of the man of sin, which is fixed by indubitable internal evidence to the times of our Saviour's second advent.

Secondly, if I am right in supposing the mention of seducing spirits and doctrines of devils, to intimate that the apostacy shall be brought about by Satanic agency, directly and perhaps openly manifested in an exhibition of miraculous powers, it will not be easy to shew that any such "teaching of devils" was employed in the propagation of the Gnostic and Manichæan errors, otherwise than in the general sense in which Satan may be termed the parent and

tentur. De quibus per Paulum dicitur *prohibentium nubere, &c.*" Œcumenius (Comm. in loc.) *Διδασκαλίας δαιμονίων. Διὰ τούτων πᾶσαν αἵρεσιν ἐδήλωσε, μάλιστα δὲ Μανιχαίους, Ἐγκρατιστάς, Μαρκιωνιστάς.* St. Bernard, speaking of the Henriciani, Petrobrusiani, and other heretics of his own times, says, (In Cantica, Serm. lxvi. n. 2,) "Denique non neglexit Spiritus sanctus, qui de his quondam tam manifeste vaticinatus est, dicente apostolo: *Spiritus autem manifeste dicit, &c.* Istos prorsus, istos dicebat. Hi nubere prohibent, hi a cibis abstinent quos Deus creavit, de quibus postea videbimus."

It appears therefore, from the foregoing examples, that

the ecclesiastical writers of each successive age, were in the habit of applying this prophecy to the heretics of their own times, and that the Manichæan errors about marriage and meats, which existed in various forms down to the 15th or 16th century, gave great plausibility to such an interpretation. It appears also, that there is no consent of ancient authors in fixing the prophecy to the heretics of any one period, although all seem to agree in the opinion, that errors of the Gnostic and Manichæan character were described more nearly than any other class of false doctrines that have as yet appeared in the world.

propagator of all religious error. At least it does not appear that any thing corresponding to the "lying wonders" foretold in the parallel prophecy, was wrought by the power of Satan, or his dæmons, for the purpose of assisting in the spread of the ancient Gnostic heresies.

It cannot, however, be denied that the coincidence between this prophecy and the history of these ancient sects is very remarkable and striking. They rejected, as we know, all the essential doctrines of the Gospel, and especially the great mystery of our faith, the manifestation of God in the incarnation, the epiphany, and the ascension, to which, as we have seen, this prophecy makes particular allusion; they apostatized from the Church in the most open manner, separating themselves from the communion of the Apostles; they prohibited marriage, and commanded to abstain from meats, on grounds exactly similar to those which are here opposed by St. Paul, when he says, that "every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused;" and, with the exception of the two particulars that I have just pointed out, they fulfilled the prediction exactly, and to the letter.

Although I do not believe, therefore, that the prophecy has been accomplished in these early heresies, I am willing to admit that they have exhibited a much more close agreement with the prediction, than any other class of erroneous opinions that have since been current in the world; nor is a coincidence so remarkable to be neglected as uninteresting; the

Apostles evidently regarded the heresies of their own times as the representatives and forerunners of the great apostacy ; they tell us that "the mystery of iniquity" was even then at work, that the "spirit of Antichrist" was even then already in the world ; and there can be little doubt that it was to the early Gnostics St. John gave the name of Antichrists, and that it was to them he alluded when he said, "they went out from us, but they were not of us ; for if they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us ; but they went out that they might be made manifest that they were not all of us^k."

The inference, therefore, to which these facts should lead is plainly this, that the errors which are to occasion, or to distinguish the apostacy of the latter times, will be of the same nature and character as those contended for by the ancient Gnostic and Manichæan sects ; altered perhaps, and modified, so as to amalgamate better with modern opinions, and the habits of modern society ; but propagated in the world by "the hypocrisy of liars," and by a direct appeal to "lying wonders," wrought by the agency of Satan and his angels^l.

2. The great majority of Protestant commentators, however, and many also in our own Church, have contended for a different interpretation of this and the parallel prophecies. They maintain that the apostacy, predicted by the Apostle, is clearly iden-

^k 1 John, ii. 18, 19.

Matt. xxiv. 24. Rev. xiv. 13,

^l 2 Thes. ii. 9. Compare 14.

tical with the great corruption of Christianity which has prevailed and still prevails in the Western Churches; and which is characterized, as the prophecy has foretold, by a superstitious imposition of vows of celibacy on the clergy and others of both sexes, as well as by the injunction of abstinence from meats on certain days or seasons, and rigorous rules of fasting; that the communion of the Church of Rome is therefore the departure from the faith which is here intended, and the usurped authority of the bishop of Rome, the predicted Antichrist.

I have already more than once had occasion to notice this interpretation of prophecy, and to point out to you its unscriptural character, in reference to the other prophecies of holy writ, with the consideration of which we have been engaged. I shall now proceed to lay before you my reasons for believing that the advocates of this opinion have altogether misapprehended the prophecy with which we are at present more immediately concerned, and have misrepresented its real meaning ^m.

^m Dr. Burton (Bampton Lect. Note 60, p. 435, sq.) has given his judgment against this interpretation of the prophecy, in the following words:—

“I ought, perhaps, to enter into an explanation why I do not follow the host of commentators, who have referred the prophecy in 1 Tim. iv. 1, &c. and in 2 Thes. ii. 1—12. to the errors of the Church of Rome. I can only say, that after giving the passage every

consideration, I cannot see the smallest probability of this being the right interpretation. If the prediction had begun to be accomplished before the death of St. John, the most bigoted adversary of Rome could hardly say that the errors of that Church had shewn themselves so early. It is a much more convincing and a much more tenable argument, to shew that these errors were not then in being: and to

(1.) In the first place then, I would observe, that these interpreters are under the necessity of main-

prove—which might be proved even to demonstration—that the Church of Rome for some centuries had not even heard of its later corruptions. It is said that the expressions, *forbidding to marry and commanding to abstain from meats*, contain a plain allusion to the customs of that church. But a prohibition which extends only to the clergy, and an abstinence from certain articles of food, which is enjoined only for particular days and seasons, will hardly answer to St. Paul's expressions. It is the absurd and puerile distinctions concerning what is lawful and unlawful to be eaten, which have made the decrees of the Romish church contemptible; and it is the facility and venality of her indulgences, by which those decrees may be evaded, which stamp them as unscriptural and sinful: but the fasts of the church of Rome are not in themselves, i. e. in theory and in principle, unscriptural or unapostolical. I cannot therefore think that these were the abstinences predicted by St. Paul. The church of Rome is corrupt and in error concerning fasts: but her corruptions consist, not in enforcing abstinence, but in furnishing her deluded sons with subterfuges and evasions; in pampering the appetite, rather than subduing it; and in laying the principle of fast-

ing, not in conscience, or in the will of God, but in arbitrary distinctions and human decrees. The Gnostics, on the other hand, as I shall shew presently, prohibited marriage and enjoined abstinence, as universal and perpetual precepts; and the prediction is therefore much more applicable to them: to which I may add, that if all other apostolical predictions concerning *the latter days* may be referred to the Gnostics, it is highly probable that this is to be so likewise. We ought, perhaps, to be very cautious how we trace any allusion to the church of Rome in the New Testament, when we find the Romanists making use of this very passage, and turning it against ourselves. It will be observed, that the words *and commanding*, in v. 3, are not in the Greek, where we only read *καλυόντων γαμῶν, ἀπέχουσαι βρωμάτων*; but it is easy to see, as many commentators have pointed out, that some word equivalent to *commanding* must be supplied. Fr. Costerus, a writer of the Romish Church, takes a very different view of the passage; and by interpreting it literally, without supplying any other word, he thinks that the protestants, who *forbid to abstain from meats*, may have been intended by St. Paul: ‘*Verbum abstinere cum ab alio nullo regatur, quam a participio prohibenti-*

taining that the Roman Church has apostatized from the faith. Not that they all maintain this position in the same sense, nor that they all maintain it in a sense in which it can be said to be untrue, but in some sense or other they are compelled to hold, that a departure from the faith has notoriously taken place in the communion of the Church of Rome.

Some for example, go the whole length of asserting that the Roman creed is a virtual, if not an actual, denial of every article of the Christian faith; that the way of salvation is not only obscured and rendered doubtful, but altogether become impassable and undiscoverable in that communion; and that consequently, the Roman Church has ceased to be a true Christian Church, and to belong to the mystical body of the Lord.

um, videbuntur potius designari hæretici, qui prohibent abstinere a cibis, quam catholici, qui jubent abstinere. [Enchirid. c. 18, p. 557.] Such an argument as this is beneath criticism, and can only provoke a smile where we ought to be serious: but I mention it to shew how cautious we ought to be in interpreting scripture; and how easy it is to become ridiculous, when we follow party feeling rather than charity and sound reason. Whoever wishes to see the arguments of those persons, who have applied these prophecies of St. Paul to the Church of Rome, may read Bishop

Hurd's *seventh Warburtonian Lecture*; Bishop Newton's 22nd and 23rd *Dissertations on the Prophecies*; Benson's *Paraphrase and notes on St. Paul's Epistles*, (reprinted in Watson's Tracts, vol. v. p. 268;) Langford's *Notes and Characters of the Man of Sin*; Mede's Works, book iii. p. 623; Jurieu's *Accomplishment of the Prophecies*. References may be found to other protestant writers in Milner's *End of Controversy*, Letter xlv. who refutes this interpretation, as does Bossuet, *Variations des Eglises*, part ii. Liv. 13. Grotius and Hammond were also opposed to it."

Others, however, are of opinion that the errors of the Church of Rome are sufficiently serious, either in themselves or in their consequences, to justify the assertion, that an apostacy or a departure from the faith has taken place in that communion, although they believe it still to retain the essentials of Christian baptism, the succession of the ministry, and the characteristics of a true, although a fallen and corrupted, church.

The advocates of the former opinion adhere, I think, to the true meaning of the prophecy, which, as we have seen, describes a departure from the faith in its fundamental and essential articles; but, in denying the Roman Church to be a Church of Christ, they contradict the express testimony of history, and misrepresent or reject the plainest evidence.

The other opinion, in its representation of the real character of the Papal errors, must be admitted to be nearer the truth; and the question whether those errors amount to what may justly be called *apostacy*, might be treated as unimportant and merely verbal, were it not for the misrepresentation of the prophecy which is necessarily implied in such an interpretation. For we have seen that the apostacy which is foretold in Scripture cannot possibly be a Christian Church in which souls can be saved, and children baptized into the name of Christ; nor is it possible that the man of sin, "who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped," can be a Christian bishop, whose ministry must be recognized, and whose orders must

be received as of full validity". "Can the same fountain, at the same place, send forth sweet water and

"Mr. Maitland states the objections to this opinion with great force and clearness: his words are:—

"I very much doubt, indeed, whether the Church of Rome, corrupt as it may be, can properly be called *apostate*. The title seems to apply to a more complete defection from the faith than is to be found in the Church of Rome, which has ever held the foundation, whatever wood, hay, or stubble, it may have heaped upon it. I have endeavoured to learn the doctrines of the Church of Rome, not from the explanations of Bossuet or Butler, but from her creeds and councils, and especially from the formularies, and tracts which she has circulated among her members; and though I have seen many of these, and have obtained some even in those parts where Popery is not merely established, but in its fullest vigour; yet I have scarcely seen any that did not contain a plain statement of the essential doctrines of Christianity. There has always been much alloy—often much absurdity—much that I believe to be error and heresy—yet, taking them altogether, as books to put into the hands of an uneducated person, they have generally contained better materials for forming a scriptural faith *on the fundamental points of Christianity*, than can be

found in the neological divinity which has overrun almost all the Protestant Churches of Europe. Let me illustrate my meaning by referring to an author who will not be suspected of partiality to the Church of Rome. The translator of the catechism which was published on the restoration of Popery in France, after stating that it had been ushered into the world in due form and order, and with all the sanction of authority, spiritual and temporal, (that is, with the bull of the Pope, the mandate of the Archbishop of Paris, and the decree of the Emperor,) adds—'*the doctrinal part of this catechism is as little exceptionable as any*. The reader will here find the mere facts recorded in the sacred Scripture, and the *general principles of Christianity* arising out of them, and depending upon them; and in *these* the Church of Rome is *not unsound*. The doctrine of the Trinity, the fall of man, original sin, the merits of Christ, the grace of the Holy Spirit, the eternal misery of the wicked, and the eternal blessedness of the righteous, have all a place in this compilation.' Now, though these doctrines have much heaped upon them that shall perish, yet they are, I think, the foundation; and as long as the Church of Rome openly main-

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bitter ?” Can the self-same community be at once a Church of Christ, and a Synagogue of Satan? Can they who have worshipped the beast and his image, and who have received upon their foreheads and upon their hands the mark of his name,—can they also be numbered amongst the followers of the Lamb, whose names are written in the book of life? Yet we must subscribe to these contradictions, or else devise some mode of explaining away the plain meaning of the Scripture, if this interpretation of the prophecy be adhered to^p.

tains them, I know not how to call her *apostate*, notwithstanding her many and great corruptions. She is, I imagine, and always has been, a part of the Catholic Church of Christ; and that she is viewed in this light by the Church of England, seems to be placed beyond all doubt, by the fact, that a priest of the Roman Church, on his joining the Church of England, is not required to be re-ordained. It will be hard to account for this, without granting that the Bishop of Rome is a true Christian Bishop. It is difficult to imagine that the Church of England would admit a man to serve at her altar, because Antichrist had ordained him—because the ‘son of perdition’ had laid hands on him—because the ‘man of sin’ had given him holy orders. Should Mr. Irving conform, he must be received by our Church as a layman. In vain might he plead that he had

received ordination in the Kirk of Scotland, and had been acknowledged as a minister of part of the Church of Christ;—his case would differ essentially from that of Mr. Maguire, who might claim at once the right hand of fellowship as a priest, simply on the ground that he had been a member of what these interpreters consider the great Antichristian apostacy, and had been already made a Christian priest by the son of perdition.” Second Enquiry, p. 106.

^o James, iii. 11.

^p The opinion that the Roman Church is a true Church of Christ, notwithstanding the errors both of faith and practice which are sanctioned in its communion, is maintained chiefly by the divines of our own Church. Mede, in a letter to Mr. Hartlib, (Ep. lxxvii. Works, p. 863,) speaking of this opinion, says, “It is no marvel though such a tenet

The advocates of the opinion, therefore, that the corruptions of Popery have been foretold in these

make your foreign divines to startle : that notion is almost proper to our *English*, to maintain that the *Roman Church*, much more the *Greek*, erreth not in *primariis et fundamentalibus fidei articulis*, because explicitly they profess them, howsoever by their *assumenta* implicitly and by consequent they subvert them." In Hooker's time the opposite opinion was in a great measure peculiar to the Puritans or non-conformists, and to the foreign Protestants : he maintains, what no consistent divine of our Church can doubt, that the reformation of our religion in England, implied neither the setting up of a new Church, distinct from that which existed in these countries before, nor necessarily compelled us to break fellowship with such Churches as continued unreformed ; " We hope," he says, " that to reform ourselves, if at any time we have done amiss, is not to sever ourselves from the Church we were of before. In the Church we were, and we are so still. Other difference between our estate before and now we know none but only such as we see in Judah ; which having sometime been idolatrous became afterwards more soundly religious by renouncing idolatry and superstition. If Ephraim ' be joined unto idols,' the counsel of the Prophet is, ' Let

him alone.' ' If Israel play the harlot, let not Judah sin.' ' If it seem evil unto you,' saith Joshua, ' to serve the Lord, choose you this day whom you will serve ; whether the gods whom your fathers served beyond the flood, or the gods of the Amorites in whose land ye dwell : but I and mine house will serve the Lord.' The indisposition, therefore, of the Church of Rome to reform herself must be no stay unto us from performing our duty to God ; even as desire of retaining conformity with them could be no excuse if we did not perform that duty. Notwithstanding, so far as lawfully we may, we have held and do hold fellowship with them. For even as the Apostle doth say of Israel, that they are in one respect enemies but in another beloved of God ; in like sort with Rome, we dare not communicate concerning sundry her gross and grievous abominations, yet touching those main parts of Christian truth wherein they constantly still persist, we gladly acknowledge them to be of the family of Jesus Christ ; and our hearty prayer unto God Almighty is, that being conjoined so far forth with them, they may at the length (if it be his will) so yield to frame and reform themselves, that no distraction remain in any thing, but that we ' all may with one heart and one

prophecies, are reduced to this dilemma; they must either evade and soften down the obvious declarations of Scripture, by misrepresenting the real character of the prediction; or else they must deny the possibility of salvation in the Church of Rome,—they must be prepared to assert that every one who has lived and died in that communion is utterly and irretrievably perished for ever.

(2.) Secondly, we may observe, that of those who deny the Christianity of the present Church of Rome, there are some who maintain, that it ceased to be a true Church from the time when its grosser corruptions obtained the ascendancy over primitive discipline and truth; while others, admitting the orthodoxy of the Western Churches, up to the period of the Reformation, contend, that since that event the character of the Roman communion has entirely

mouth glorify God the Father of our Lord and Saviour,' whose Church we are. As there are which make the Church of Rome utterly no Church at all, by reason of so many, so grievous errors in their doctrines; so we have them amongst us, who under pretence of imagined corruptions in our discipline do give even as hard a judgment of the Church of England itself." *Eccl. Pol. Book iii. ch. i. 10.* (vol. i. p. 437, 8. Keble's Edit.)

Nor was the extreme doctrine maintained even by the foreign Protestants at the beginning of the Reformation; the

confession of Augsburg says, "Hæc fere summa est doctrinæ apud nos, in qua cerni potest nihil inesse, quod discrepet a scripturis, vel ab ecclesia Catholica, vel ab ecclesia Romana, quatenus ex scriptoribus nota est." (Part. i. concl.) And both Luther and Calvin at first acknowledged the Church of Rome to be a true church, although they were afterwards, and especially the latter, betrayed into expressions inconsistent with the admission. See what Mr. Palmer has said upon this subject, in his *Treatise on the Church*, Part I. chap. xi, xii.

changed. For the party, they argue, which devised and maintained popish errors within those Churches, during the age preceding the Reformation, and which was at first but a faction, though, a powerful and influential one, has since acquired the complete ascendancy, and has succeeded in casting out as heretics, the sound and orthodox members, who laboured for a reformation of abuses, and a restoration of the primitive faith^a.

^a This intermediate opinion has been maintained by Bishop Jewell, Dr. Field, and others: Dr. Field has proved at large "that the Latine or West Church, in which the Pope tyrannized, was, and continued, a true orthodox and Protestant Church, and that the devisers and maintainers of Romish errors and superstitious abuses, were only a faction in the same, at the time when Luther, not without the applause of all good men, published his propositions against the prophane abuse of Papall indulgences." (Of the Church; appendix to Book iii. p. 183.) "So that the *Romane* Church that then was, consisted of two sorts of men: of the one as true living members: of the other as partaking to her unity in respect of baptism, power of ministry, and profession of some parts of heavenly truth; though not partaking of that degree of unity which the principall parts thereof had amongst themselves, but divided from them, being a dangerous faction in

the midst of her, seeking her destruction." (App. to Book v. p. 882.) And immediately after, having mentioned these "two sorts of men" in a different order, he draws the following distinction;—"In respect of the former of these, [scil. the faction who adhered to Popish errors,] the *Romane* Church was *vere ecclesia*, truly a Church, that is, a multitude of men professing Christ, and baptized; but not *vera ecclesia*, a true Church, that is, a multitude of men holding a saving profession of the truth in Christ:.....but in respect of the latter, [scil. those who sought a reformation,] it was *vera ecclesia*, a true Church, that is, a multitude of men holding a saving profession of the truth in Christ." (ibid.) So that, according to this view of the subject, the case is changed with the Roman Church since the reformation of religion; for the faction that advocated Popish errors, has, since that time, obtained the upper hand, while the rest

The former of these opinions is encumbered with great and serious difficulties, some of which I have already on a former occasion alluded to. Its advocates are unable to point out the precise period when the great and flourishing Churches of the West ceased to be Churches of Christ, and became synagogues of Antichrist; they are unable to explain how an anti-christian apostacy could have produced the eminent servants of Christ, who, in the middle ages, lived and died His faithful followers; and of whom many were instruments employed by Providence for spreading among the barbarous nations of the north and west a knowledge of the Christian faith. The other opinion, indeed, is more consistent with Catholic principles, and with the promises of Christ to his Church; but it will follow from it, that the commencement of

have, for the most part, seceded to the reformed Churches. According to Field, therefore, the Roman Church is now no longer *vera ecclesia*, but only *vere ecclesia*. For, "surely," he says, "as *Augustine* noteth, that the societies of heretickes, in that they retaine the profession of many parts of heavenly trueth, and the ministration of the sacrament of baptism, are so farre forth still conjoynd with the Catholicke Church of God, and the Catholicke Church in and by them, bringeth forth children unto God: so the present *Romane* Church, is still in some sort a part of the visible Church of God, but no otherwise than

other societies of heretickes are, in that it retayneth the profession of some parts of heavenly trueth, and ministereth the true sacrament of baptism to the salvation of the soules of many thousand infants that die after they are baptized, before shee have poysoned them with her errors." (Ibid. p. 883.) And just before he had said, "Hence it followeth . . . that howsoever wee have forsaken the communion of the *Romane* diocesse, yet wee have not departed from the *Romane* Church in the latter sense before expressed, wherein our fathers lived and died, but onely from the faction that was in it." (Ibid.)

the apostacy and of the reign of Antichrist is to be dated from the era of the Reformation ; for then, according to this opinion, the Church of Rome ceased to be a Christian communion, and departed wholly and finally from the faith. Yet, I am not aware that any commentator on prophecy has fixed upon this era for the beginning of the antichristian tyranny ; nor can it be deemed at all probable, that the period, at which the Roman Patriarch became the man of sin, should also be the period at which his power was permanently limited, and its exercise restrained.

The former opinion, however, that the Church of Rome became apostate, and that the Pope became the man of sin, at some period previous to the Reformation, is the hypothesis which interpreters of prophecy have chosen to adopt ; and it will be natural, when we seek to ascertain the date of this strange and important event, to inquire at what time the Western Churches became infected with those corruptions which are appealed to as fixing upon the Roman communion the character of a departure from the faith, and therefore as constituting the essence of the apostacy.

Here, however, we are met by a remarkable inconsistency in the systems of these expositors ; for if we adopt as the commencement of the antichristian tyranny, the period when saint-worship, asceticism, and celibacy were openly countenanced by ecclesiastical authority, then it will follow, according to every system of computing the chronology of prophecy, that the apostacy and the Antichrist ought long ago to

have been destroyed. To avoid this difficulty therefore, these commentators endeavour first to ascertain the most probable period for the end of Antichrist, (taking care that it shall of course be future,) and from this, by counting backwards, they are able according to their theories, to determine the commencement of the apostacy^r. But the result of this proceeding has led to a new inconsistency; for the commencement of the apostacy is thus necessarily assigned to a period some centuries after the full establishment of its characteristic corruptions; and yet these corruptions are nevertheless appealed to as the most decisive proof of the identity of Romanism with the great departure from the faith foretold in

^r The variations of this class of commentators in determining the commencement and termination of the great apostacy, are very instructive, and clearly prove the unsoundness of the principles upon which all such controversial expositions of the prophecy proceed. Thus Walter Brute, in 1390, conceiving that the end of Popery was then at hand, assumed that the 1290 days mentioned, Dan. xii. 11, were to be computed from the destruction of Jerusalem under Titus; and consequently counting days for years, that they were then in his own times about to terminate, and the Pope and Popery to be destroyed. (Fox's *Acts and Monuments*, vol. i. p. 546, sq. Lond. 1684.) Time, of course, soon refuted this hypothesis, but

the principle of the interpretation was not so readily abandoned; thus Mede fixed the end of the apostacy in 1636; Parker in 1649; Goodwin in 1666; Alleine in 1686; Beverley in 1697; Jurieu in 1710; Whiston in 1736; and these are only a few of the many similar conjectures that the event has now disproved, notwithstanding the plausibility and popularity they possessed prior to this unanswerable refutation. Other commentators have, therefore, taken care to insure a longer life to their systems, by fixing the end at a greater distance from their own times; thus Mr. Faber has selected the year 1864; Dr. Hales, 1880; Dr. Wells, 1890; Bp. Newton, 1987; and Mr. Keith, 2450.

the prophecy before us. Thus we are required to believe that the essential characters of the apostacy were all in the Church for several centuries before the Church became apostate; and that the Church afterwards became apostate, without any new mark of its apostacy, and without any change or alteration in those criteria of its defection which had before existed.

(3.) But we shall be better prepared to estimate the force of this observation, when we have passed over the next step in our inquiry, namely, how far the characteristic marks of the apostacy, described in the text, can be fairly attributed to the Church of Rome.

The first of these is the "giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils." We have seen that these words have been applied to the Church of Rome by Mede and his followers, and that they are supposed by these expositors to describe the idolatrous worship of saints and angels sanctioned in that communion.

I need not repeat what I have already said to show you that this interpretation is wholly gratuitous and unfounded; and that the words have in reality a very different signification. But let us suppose now for a moment that Mede's view of the passage is correct, and I think it may be shewn that it will prove too much for the purposes of those who desire to fix upon Romanism the charge of apostacy.

For, it is well known to every reader of history, that invocations of the saints, and reliance upon their merits and intercession, were generally incul-

cated and practised in the Church at least as early as the fourth century. If, therefore, this species of idolatry be the scriptural mark of the apostacy, the Church must have been apostate at a period much earlier than these expositors have found convenient. Nor is this all; for the same gross corruptions of Christian worship exist, and are as fully countenanced, in the Greek and Oriental Churches, and yet these Churches are not considered as a part of the apostacy, nor can they, by any one who is acquainted with their history, be identified with the communion of the Church of Rome.

It appears, therefore, that this supposed characteristic of the great departure from the faith fails as a criterion in enabling us to detect the apostacy; for saint worship was practised in the Western Churches long before they are asserted to have become apostate, and it is now, and for ages has been sanctioned in the Oriental Churches, although they are not supposed to have at any time been included in the apostacy*.

*I have borrowed this argument from Mr. Maitland, who says, (Second Enquiry, p. 116. sq.) "Whatever 'doctrines' the Apostle might refer to in speaking of the apostacy, we might naturally expect (as indeed, I believe, all writers admit,) should be characteristic of that apostacy—that is, should distinguish it from what the whole Church had been before the rise of the apostacy, and from

what the rest of the Church should continue to be after the apostacy should have arisen. This doctrine, however, does neither one nor the other. No man, who has the slightest acquaintance with the history of the Church, will deny that this heresy was far and wide established—was open, barefaced, and accredited, long before the period when the Papal apostacy is said to have taken

This of itself is a sufficient cause for doubting the validity of the interpretation which Mede and his

place. And is there, or has there ever been, the slightest shade of real difference on this point between the Church of Rome, and the Greek Church? Has not the next greatest body of Christians to the Papists as many, and as unscriptural, doctrines of mediators, saints, and intercessors? 'It must be sadly acknowledged,' says Smith, 'that there is a great deal of superstition mixed up in their public service, and offices: such is their perfuming the church, the painted figures, the holy table, the deacons and others with their incense-pots; their frequent crossing themselves; the extravagant respect they pay to the unconsecrated elements in the great procession; their closing several of their prayers with these words, *for the intercession of our Lady, the spotless Virgin-Mother of God;*' and sometimes they add, '*and of all saints;*' the oblation of particles, and their prayers to saints and especially to the Blessed Virgin, and the like. After the offering up of the particle the quire sings, '*It is meet indeed to praise thee, the Mother of God, who art always to be blessed, free from all blemish, the Mother of our God, more to be honoured than the cherubims, and beyond all comparison more glorious than the seraphims, who broughtest forth God the Word, without*

any diminution of thy virginity, we magnify thee, who art truly the Mother of God.' They oftentimes make direct prayers to her; as, '*O Mother of God, Holy above all, save us.*' When they are rising out of their beds in the morning they are taught to say, '*Thou, O God, art holy, holy, holy: for the sake of the Mother of God have mercy upon us.*' Besides, there are prayers and hymns directed to her in their offices, hence called *Ourania*, full of extravagant expressions, and which argue a great declension from the purity and simplicity of the Christian worship, too fulsome to be here recited at large; only for a taste I shall add one or two. '*In Thee, O Mother of God, have I put all my trust, save me by thy intercession, and grant me pardon of my sins.*' And, '*O, blessed Mother of God, open to us the gate of thy mercy: let not us who hope in Thee, err; but let us be delivered from dangers by Thee: for Thou art the safety of all Christians.*' And the like horrible superstition they are guilty of in their addresses to angels and saints.' [Account of the Greek Church, p. 231.] I think it will be no easy matter to shew any real difference as to the doctrine of human mediators between the Church of Rome, and the forty millions of professed Christians who use

followers have laboured to fix upon the text; since it appears from the admissions of these writers themselves, that the false doctrines which they have selected as criteria of the apostacy, are not criteria of it. But I have already endeavoured to show you, upon other grounds, the inadequacy of Mede's exposition of this part of the prophecy; and if the views which it was my object to establish, be well founded, you will have seen that the criterion of the apostacy to which the words before us refer, is one which has not been fulfilled in any remarkable or decisive manner in the Church of Rome. The errors of Romanism may for aught we know, have proceeded from the teaching of devils; but it is yet to be proved whether they have had Satan for their author in any more peculiar manner than other heresies and corruptions of religion. It is true the Romanists pretend to have had miracles among them; miracles too, wrought for the express purpose of establishing their peculiar doctrines; but there is no sufficient evidence for supposing such miracles to have been really of a supernatural character, or anything more than instances of the blind self-deception, and wilful frauds, which are the natural offspring of fanaticism, not to say of a determination to

the prayers of which the foregoing are 'a taste.' It marks the Church of Rome as apostate; but fixes no such brand upon them. The truth is, they are *not wanted*. We have already got a Western apostacy in Popery, and an Eastern apostacy in Mohammedanism, and to get another would spoil

all. They may go on as they will—not having been allowed to be 'saints,' because they resisted the son of perdition and are separate from his communion, they may practise his characteristic sin as boldly as he does, without incurring the guilt, or the judgments of the apostacy."

uphold or propagate certain favourite opinions. And yet without admitting the reality of the miracles to which Popery lays claim, it will be impossible to identify them with the predicted miracles of Antichrist and his auxiliaries.

A second characteristic of the apostacy, as it is described in the text, is a prohibition of marriage; and this, as we have seen, cannot, without greatly lowering the plain meaning of the words, be considered as adequately fulfilled by the discipline of those Churches in which monastic vows are sanctioned or encouraged, and celibacy imposed upon the clergy.

For to adapt the prophecy to this interpretation, it has been found necessary to qualify, with several very considerable, and, if I mistake not, wholly gratuitous restrictions, words, which imply, in their natural and obvious signification, an absolute prohibition of marriage, on some such principles as those which led to the prohibition of it in the ancient Gnostic and Manichæan sects; or else, perhaps on the licentious principles which are not without their advocates in our own times. But the Roman Churches are so far from giving countenance to any such extremes of impiety, that the holy ordinance of marriage, notwithstanding their peculiar errors respecting it, is esteemed by them as of equal honour with the very Sacraments ordained by Christ Himself. Before we can apply the prophecy, therefore, to the doctrines or practices of Romanism, we are forced to assume that "forbidding to marry" means only forbidding such persons to marry as voluntarily engage in the office of the priesthood; or recommending the

state of celibacy, generally, to such as desire to devote themselves more entirely to the practice of devotion, and to the cultivation of what they consider the higher attainments of a religious life^t.

Without attempting, therefore, in the least to defend or to excuse this part of the discipline and doctrine of the Roman Church,—for I believe it indefensible,—I trust I may be permitted to express my doubts, whether the injunction or recommendation of celibacy to certain classes of persons in that communion, can in fairness and candour be represented as equivalent to a general prohibition of the holy ordinance of matrimony, or a denial of its divine institu-

^t Bishop Hall says, “and in this point, we may well give the Church of Rome her due; and acknowledge the wise care of her Lateran and Tridentine councils, which have enacted so strict decrees against clandestine marriages, and have taken so severe a course for the reforming of many foul disorders in these matrimonial proceedings, as may be of good use for the Christian world. Had they done the like in other cases, their light had not gone out in a snuff.” Cases of Conscience, Decad iv. case 8.

But although this be true, and although the Church of Rome takes higher ground in her estimation of marriage than Protestants have done, inasmuch as she makes matrimony a sacrament, and its bond indissoluble, yet it must be confessed that controversialists

and mystics of that communion, in their zeal to defend the necessity of clerical celibacy, and the merit of virginity, have often expressed themselves as if they held marriage to be unclean. Thus the celibacy of the clergy is defended on the ground of the obligation of *purity* in them that minister in holy things, and the marriage state is spoken of as inconsistent with chastity. For example, Pope Innocent I. in his letter to Exuperius, Bishop of Thoulouse, (Decret. Gratiani, p. i. distinct. 82. c. 2. *Proposuit*) reasons thus, “Nam si B. Paulus Apostolus ad Corinthios scribit, dicens, *abstinete vos ad tempus ut vacetis orationi*, et hoc utique laicis præcepit; multo magis sacerdotes, quibus et orandi et sacrificandi jure officio est, semper debebunt ab

tion. I am persuaded that the prophecy before us is intended to predict a much more fatal error than that of Romanism ; an error more destructive to morality and to society ; an error, which if we are to seek for its antitype in modern times, would seem to be represented rather by what we have seen was always the result of infidel domination, both in our own country,—during the temporary overthrow of our religion and monarchy,—and in still later times, in France, where the marriage contract was capable of being legally

hujusmodi consortio abstinere : qui, si contaminatus fuerit carnali concupiscentia, quo pudore vel sacrificare usurpabit, aut qua conscientia, quove merito exaudiri se credit, cum dictum sit, *omnia munda mundis, coinquinatis autem et infidelibus nihil mundum?* Sed fortasse hoc licere credit, quia scriptum est *unius uxoris virum*. Non dixit hoc, ut permaneret in concupiscentia generandi, sed propter incontinentiam futuram. Neque enim integros corpore non admisit, qui ait *vellem autem omnes sic esse sicut et ego*. Quod et apertius declarat dicens, *qui autem in carne sunt Deo placere non possunt, vos autem jam non estis in carne, sed in spiritu*." This mode of speaking represents God as having instituted, and that in the time of man's innocence, a state of life inconsistent with moral purity ; and were such an opinion, either peculiar to the Roman Church or directly

sanctioned by her decrees, it would be much more nearly the error foretold by St. Paul, than the injunction of celibacy on the clergy, or the institution of the monastic life. It is to this opinion of the relative unholiness of the married state, that Bp. Hall applies the prophecy before us ; although I think he hardly goes so far as to consider it *fulfilled* in the Romish Church. "It is true," he says, "they miscall marriage a sacrament: so as we may well wonder at these two extremes in one doctrine; and study, in vain, how the same thing should be sacred in a ceremonious inchoation, and in the real consummation morally impure ; how a sacrament should be incompatible with a sacred person. These Sphyngean riddles are for better heads." The honour of the married clergy, Book i. Sect. 4. (Works, vol. ix. p. 175. Oxford, 1838.)

dissolved at any time by the mutual consent of the parties; and that infidel opinions of a similar tendency are not without their victims in our own nation, at the present day, none need be told who are acquainted with what is now commonly maintained on this subject, by the enemies of our faith and institutions". We have not indeed, as yet, seen

" Mr. Maitland says, "Those who have any acquaintance with the real doctrines of apostates from Christianity, (whether French philosophers, German illuminati, or liberal infidels of England,) will require no proof that such a law" [a law, viz. forbidding to marry] "may be expected, if an infidel apostacy should become dominant. If others doubt on this point, I had rather that they should remain unconvinced, than bring forward matter which might convince them. They who are not liberal and enlightened philosophers themselves, and who have not taken pains to see through those who are, have, I believe, very little idea of what is going on in this day, and in this country, to prepare the community for such a measure. I may say, however, that I believe three years have not elapsed, since one of our most notorious political economists is reported to have publicly denounced the institution of marriage, as one of those great evils to which the misery of man might be attributed." Second Enquiry, p. 130. Bishop Horsley takes the words, " Nei-

ther shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the desire of women," (Dan. xi. 27.) to be a prophecy of the same characteristic of the apostacy as that which we are now examining. He says, "I take the licentiousness in the pleasures of women, in the 37th verse, and the forbidding to marry, in St. Paul's description of the latter times, to be perfectly equivalent. If you consider that this licentiousness (in Daniel) is not the character of an individual, but of a government, you will agree with me, I think, that it must consist in a tolerance of promiscuous commerce of the sexes, and a disregard of the holy ordinance of matrimony by public authority. And the 'forbidding to marry' seems to be the same thing. For neither the celibacy of the clergy of the Church of Rome, nor the superstitious preference given to the state of virginity, comes up to the universality of the phrase 'forbidding to marry.' The French have not yet actually prohibited wedlock; and perhaps no government will ever go the length of passing an express law against it. But the French

men go the length of *prohibiting* the ordinance of the Church, or the public recognition of the civil contract; but we have seen in our own times a legal sanction given to a mode of entering upon this contract, wherein neither the blessing of the Almighty is besought, nor the Church admitted as a witness. How far this may be considered as a step to a more anti-Christian state of things, it would ill become me to predict; at present it can only be appealed to as one amongst many still more unequivocal indications of the tendency of a certain class of opinions, now widely spread amongst us, and an earnest of what may fairly be expected from a national recognition of infidelity, and an overthrow of the Christian Church^v. But the subject is one upon which it

have reduced it to nothing at all—to nothing more than a temporary contract during the good pleasure of both parties; and, except in the circumstance that the children are legitimate, I know not in what a modern French wife differs from a kept mistress. The Jacobins here use their utmost endeavours to introduce an imitation of French manners in this profanation of marriage. Hardly a divorce bill passes, but an attempt is made to introduce a clause making a provision for the discarded adulteress out of the fortunes of the injured husband. And, if this were generally done, I know not how adultery could be more effectually encouraged. The most flagitious attempt of the

kind was in the instance of Shadwell's divorce. The motion was made by the noble friend and admirer of Boisset. Had it been carried in this instance, it never could have been opposed in any other. For the infamy of this woman's conduct nothing could surpass. I considered the motion as an indirect, but premeditated, blow aimed at the sanctity of marriage; and that was the occasion of the vehemence with which I opposed it. The House was of my opinion, and the motion was rejected by a great majority." Letter ii. to the Author of *Antichrist in the French Convention*. British Magazine, vol. v. pp. 138, 9.

^v I hope no reader will suppose from the allusion I have

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would be manifestly impossible to enter here ; and I shall therefore only say, that I believe the prophecy

here made to the recent Marriage Act, that I consider the contracts which it sanctions *invalid* in the sight of God. On the contrary, I believe the parties so united to be as fully bound to each other *in foro conscientiae*, and before God, as if they had been married by a lawful priest with the rites of the Church. But I cannot think that they are married *as Christians* ; for it is clear that they have plighted their faith to each other, without any recognition of the ordinance as of divine institution, or regard to the prayers and benediction of the Church. In ecclesiastical law, I conceive, such marriages should be regarded as the marriages of unbelievers, which the Church has never considered *invalid* : hence the Christian, who takes upon him the marriage contract in a manner so ungodly, ranks himself, by that act, with unbelievers, and needs restoration by episcopal authority on his repentance.

The canon law distinguishes between *matrimonium legitimum et ratum*. For the first, the consent of the parties, or their living together by consent as reputed man and wife, is sufficient, (Decretal. De præsumpt. c. xi. *Illud quoque*;) and in this light are regarded the marriages of the heathen, Jews, and others out of the pale of the Church : the second is that

which is entered upon in the Church, with benediction of her ministers ; but both are equally valid and binding on the parties. I conceive, therefore, that marriages under the new law are *legitima* and *vera*, but not *rata*, and that the Church can only consider them as she does the marriages of unbelievers, made out of the pale of Christendom. “*Nam etsi matrimonium verum inter infideles existat, non tamen est ratum; inter fideles autem verum et ratum existit.*” (Decretal. De divort. c. 7. *Quanto te.*)

I have alluded to the recent Marriage Act, because it furnishes so distinct a proof of the wishes of the party from whose importunities it proceeded, to abolish matrimony as a *Christian* institution, and so plain an indication of what may be expected on this head from the dominancy of an *avowedly* infidel power. I cannot help considering it also, as an important step towards a national abandonment of Christianity, which has hitherto been ever recognized as the basis and foundation of English law ; and of its moral effects, as an auxiliary to the many engines now at work for the overthrow of the faith in this kingdom, I entertain the most serious apprehensions. It is thus spoken of by an eminent prelate of our Church : “All may now marry with equal validity,

to have foretold an infidel prohibition of the ordinance of marriage, rather than a superstitious preference for a life of celibacy, and that a state of things is hereafter to be revealed, far, far exceeding in impiety and immorality any example of superstition, hypocrisy, or mistaken devotion, that has ever been tolerated in the darkest period or region of the Church.

A third characteristic of the apostacy is the "commanding to abstain from meats," which, we are told, has been exactly fulfilled in the fasts and superstitious acts of abstinence enjoined by the Church of Rome. But here again we are forced to make several unauthorized additions to the words of the prophecy, before it will admit of such an interpretation; we must suppose the meaning to be, not an absolute prohibition of certain meats, but only a prohibition of them on certain days, or at certain seasons, while their

and with equal favour in the eye of the law, whether they solemnize their marriage in the house of God, or in the office of the clerk of the guardians of the poor;—whether they call God to witness their plighted faith, or own no higher sanction than the presence of one of the lowest public functionaries known to the state. Matrimony itself is degraded, so far as the act of a mortal legislature can degrade it, from a holy ordinance of God, to a simple contract between two human beings, beginning and ending with their own bare agreement—no recognition of

the sacredness, much less of the indissolubility of the contract—no blessing sought—no vows of mutual fidelity given and received—nothing, in short, which can hallow, or honour, or endear, that union, which is declared by an apostle to be a type and figure of Christ's own blessed union with his spouse the Church." Charge delivered to the clergy of the diocese of Exeter, by the Right Reverend Henry, Lord Bishop of Exeter, at his triennial visitation, in the months of August, September, and October, 1836, p. 14.

use at other times is not forbidden ; or else a prohibition of them to certain persons, who have voluntarily devoted themselves to a life of peculiar self-mortification and devotion. And, as there is no sect of Christians who do not at times recommend the practice of religious fasting, and the observance of days of abstinence, we are further compelled to conclude that the discipline of the Church of Rome, in commanding to abstain from meats, is evil, not in itself, as making abstinence from meats at certain times, or to certain persons, a religious duty, but as having been carried to an extreme of superstition ; and consequently, that the mark of the apostacy foretold in the text, is not so much abstinence from meats, as extreme or superstitious abstinence, with an erroneous motive, or for an unscriptural end.

Now this, I think, is altogether to misrepresent the plain meaning of the text ; for the abstinence, which is there foretold, is condemned as an evil in itself, and on grounds which are wholly inapplicable to superstitious fasting. The Romish fasts are not enjoined from any notion of inherent uncleanness in the meats prohibited, but from the very different motive of self-mortification, or penitential discipline ; and yet nothing can be more evident than that the prohibition of meats, predicted by the Apostle, is supposed by him to be grounded on some opinion of the uncleanness or unfitness of the meats themselves ; for otherwise his argument against this commanded abstinence would be inapplicable,—“ every creature

of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving *."

I would add also with reference to the two last mentioned characteristics of the Apostacy, that they neither originated in the Roman Church, nor ever were peculiar to that communion. They are therefore insufficient, as criteria, for fixing the charge of apostacy exclusively upon the Church of Rome. The monastic life had its origin in the East, and is there to this day practised by Christians, who are not only not in communion with the Pope, but zealously opposed to his claims of universal sovereignty. In the Greek Church too, marriage is forbidden to the episcopal order, and to the priesthood after ordination; and the same recommendation of celibacy,

* Upon this point Mr. Maitland says, "I feel quite at a loss how to express my astonishment, that any expositor should have been hardy enough to carry on the interpretation by applying this part of the prophecy to the fasts of the Church of Rome. Strange indeed it will be if the predicted mark of apostacy should turn out to be a practice commanded in the word of God, recognized as a religious duty by every Christian communion, and placed first and foremost in her list of 'good works' by the purest Protestant Church in the world. [See the Homily 'Of Good Works, and first of Fasting.'] To say that *this*, which the Church of England enjoins on her members, as a

'good work, whose commendation is both in the law and in the gospel,' changes its character so far as to become a badge of apostacy, when excessively or superstitiously performed, is a shift which it would not be worth while to answer, if the reply were not so close at hand. Has the Church of Rome ever commanded such excessive abstinence as had been practised by voluntary superstition long before that Church was distinguished as the apostacy, or, in fact, distinguished at all from the rest of the Catholic Church? And has the Greek Church never been excessive or superstitious on this point?" Second Enquiry, pp. 124, 125.

as more favourable to devotion, the same superstitious opinions of the merit of the unmarried state, are inculcated and sanctioned. It is notorious too, that in the Eastern Churches the fanatical abuse of religious abstinence may be found in forms as objectionable, and as inconsistent with enlightened piety, as any that have ever been sanctioned by the Roman Church; and the charge of "commanding to abstain from meats" applies to them as fully as to the Western Churches.

Where then lies the difference between the corruptions of Eastern and Western Christendom? And if these corruptions be the undoubted marks of Antichrist, the signs and criteria of apostacy, how comes it that the Greek and Oriental Churches have been suffered to escape the sentence of condemnation, which has been so confidently pronounced against the Church of Rome? How is it to be explained, that abuses and corruptions which originated in the East, which are practised and defended by Eastern Christians at the present day, which never at any time were peculiar to Western Christianity, are nevertheless, by so many men of piety and learning, appealed to as the proper and distinguishing characteristics of the Church of Rome?

But suppose this difficulty were capable of being explained or removed, and that we should consent wholly to overlook the state of Eastern Christendom; suppose too, that we should farther consent to consider the corruptions of which we have been speaking, as manifestly foretold by the Apostle, and therefore as

distinguishing characteristics of the apostacy ; not even these great concessions would be sufficient to establish the opinion that the fulfilment of this prophecy may be found in the errors of the Roman Church.

For the same difficulty that I have already noticed in speaking of saint-worship as a characteristic of the apostacy, is equally applicable to the cases now before us. A superstitious opinion of the merit of celibacy, and fanatical abuses of the ordinance of fasting, were sanctioned in the Church long before it would be convenient, for any of the common systems of prophetical chronology, to consider the apostacy as begun.

To instance in one only of the most popular of these systems. The celibacy of the clergy, according to Bishop Newton, was first enjoined by public authority, at the beginning of the fourth century *; and

* Bishop Newton's words are : " The Council of Eliberis in Spain, which was held in the year of Christ 305, was I think the first, that by public authority forbade the clergy to marry, and commanded even those who were married to abstain altogether from their wives. The Council of Neocæsarea, in the year 314, only forbade unmarried presbyters to marry on the penalty of degradation. At the first general Council of Nice, in the year 325, a motion was made to restrain the clergy from all conjugal society with their wives, but it was strongly opposed by

Paphnutius, a famous Egyptian bishop, who yet himself was never married; and to him the whole council agreed and left every man to his liberty as before. But the monks had not yet prevailed; the monks soon after overspread the Eastern Church, and the western too; and as the monks were the first who brought single life into repute, so they were the first also, who revived and promoted the worship of demons. It is a thing universally known, that one of the primary and most essential laws and constitutions of all monks, whether solitary or associated, whether

the monastic life, in which the superstitious abstinence from meats was combined with celibacy, originated in Egypt and in the East, a few years after ; the idolatrous veneration of the saints was also in full vigour at the same period ; thus all these supposed marks of apostacy were completely developed and openly sanctioned by the Church in the fourth century, and yet, according to Bishop Newton, the apostacy did not commence till the eighth¹.

living in deserts or in convents, is the profession of single life, to abstain from marriage themselves, and to discourage it all they can in others. It is equally certain, that the monks had the principal share in promoting and propagating the worship of the dead ; and either out of credulity, or for worse reasons, recommended it to the people with all the pomp and power of their eloquence in their homilies and orations. Read only some of the most celebrated fathers ; read the orations of Basil on the martyr Mamas, and on the forty martyrs ; read the orations of Ephraim Syrus on the death of Basil, and on the forty martyrs, and on the praises of the holy martyrs ; read the orations of Gregory Nazianzen on Athanasius, and on Basil, and on Cyprian ; read the orations of Gregory Nyssen on Ephraim Syrus, and on the martyr Theodorus, and on Meletius, Bishop of Antioch ; read the sixteenth, and other homilies of Chrysostom ; read his oration

on the martyrs of Egypt, and other orations : and you will be greatly astonished to find, how full they are of this sort of superstition, what powers and miracles are ascribed to the saints, what prayers and praises are offered up to them. All these were monks, and most of them bishops too, in the fourth century." (Dissert. xxiii.) Mr. Maitland remarks upon this passage, "If the reader is not 'greatly astonished' at facts which are pretty notorious, he may perhaps be surprised at finding them thus stated by a writer whose 1260 years did not begin till the *eighth century*." Second Enquiry, p. 117. See also what the same author has observed upon Bishop Newton's interpretation of the decree of the council of Eliberis, *Ibid.* p. 123.

¹ After mentioning some of the "memorable events" that happened in the eighth century, Bishop Newton concludes, "From one or other of these transactions it is probable that the beginning of the reign of

The advocates, therefore, of Bishop Newton's system are compelled to hold, that from the fourth century at latest, to the eighth, all the predicted marks of the antichristian apostacy were deeply impressed upon the Church, fully recognized by bishops, popes, and councils, and every where in active operation, and yet that the Church was not apostate, nor Antichrist as yet revealed; and further, that in the eighth century no new or more fatal departure from the faith having in the mean time taken place, the Church suddenly became apostate, in consequence and by virtue of the very same errors that had received her sanction, and were every where in full operation four centuries before².

Antichrist is to be dated. What appears to me most probable is, that it is to be dated from the year 727, when (as Sigonius says) *Rome and the Roman Dukedom came from the Greeks, to the Roman Pontiff*." Diss. xxvi. §. 3. Here the reader will observe that the great criteria of forbidding to marry and commanding to abstain from meats, are not so much as alluded to in fixing the date of this event.

² It may perhaps be said, that although Bishop Newton admits the celibacy of the clergy, and other marks of the apostacy to have *begun* in the fourth century, yet he tells us also, that "the 1260 years of the reign of Antichrist are not to be computed from his birth, or infancy, or youth; but from

his coming to maturity;" (Dissert. xxvi.) and in another place he says, that "as long ago as the year 386, Pope Siricius held a council of eighty bishops at Rome, and forbade the clergy to cohabit with their wives;" that "this decree was confirmed by Pope Innocent, at the beginning of the fifth century; and the celibacy of the clergy was fully decreed by Gregory the seventh, in the eleventh century; and this hath been the universal law and practice of the Church ever since." (Dissert. xxiii.) But it is equally fatal to the supposition that the celibacy of the clergy was foretold as a criterion of the apostacy, if we are not to consider it as having been fully decreed until the eleventh century, while we are

I trust, therefore, it is now sufficiently plain to you that the interpretation, which has compelled its advocates to adopt such inconsistencies as these, cannot be the true signification of the great series of prophecy to which I have been endeavouring to direct your attention. Should I be permitted to continue these discourses, I hope to render this conclusion still more manifest by an examination of the revelations of the Apocalypse, and by pointing out to you the entire failure of the same system of interpretation to explain its mysteries.

In the mean time let me ask you to consider candidly and without prejudice, whether it can be said with any tolerable fairness, that the Church of Rome has *apostatized* from the faith; that she has denied the Father and the Son; that she has denied the Lord that bought her, or rejected the great mystery of godliness, God manifest in the flesh, justified in the Spirit; seen of angels; preached unto the Gentiles; believed on in the world; received up into glory.

I repeat it ^a, that I am not seeking to palliate, to extenuate, or in any way whatsoever to excuse the many great and serious errors, the lamentable idolatry, the pitiable superstitions, that have been cano-

led by other means to the conclusion that the apostacy was "come to maturity" in the eighth. The facts however are, that a veneration for celibacy, such as to modern ears would sound very like *forbidding to marry*, was of earlier date in

the Church than even the fourth century; and that the celibacy of the clergy was far indeed from being the *universal* practice of the Church from the eleventh.

^a See Lecture V. p. 267.

nized, as it were, in that communion, and palmed upon the world as Catholic and Apostolic truths; but deeply and fatally in error as I believe that Church to be, I cannot believe her to be apostate. It is I think tampering too much with the awful sacredness of truth to assert, that Christians of the Roman communion have lost all fundamental or essential doctrines of the faith once delivered to the saints. On the contrary it is manifest to every one who has read the great divines of that communion, that the Roman Church, with all her deep corruptions, still maintains and inculcates the great essential truths of our religion; that she still puts forward prominently, the great fundamental doctrines of the Trinity, the incarnation of the Lord, the fallen state of man, the necessity of grace, the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come^b. Rather

^b I have asserted nothing here beyond what has always been maintained by the great divines of our Church, who have ever held that the Church of Rome, with all her gross corruptions, does still hold the foundation, and still puts forward the great essential doctrines of the faith. Thus for example, Bishop Hall, (*Old Religion*, Introd. sect. 1. vol. ix. p. 312. Oxford, 1837.) "For this particular they have not well heeded that charitable profession of zealous Luther, *nos fatemur*, &c. 'we profess,' saith he, 'that under the Papacy there is much Christian good, yea all, &c. I say

moreover, that under the Papacy is true Christianity, yea the very kernel of Christianity, &c.' No man I trust will fear that fervent spirit's too much excess of indulgence. Under the Papacy may be as much good, as itself is evil; neither do we censure that Church, for what it hath not, but for what it hath. Fundamental truth is like Maronæan wine, which if it be mixed with twenty times so much water, holds its strength. The sepulchre of Christ was overwhelmed by the Pagans with earth and rubbish: and more than so, over it they built a temple to their impure Venus; yet still

therefore let us rejoice, that a communion, in other respects so greatly fallen from the purity of the faith,

in spite of malice, there was the sepulchre of Christ. And it is a ruled case of Papinian, that a sacred place loseth not the holiness, with the demolished walls; no more doth the Roman lose the claim of a true visible Church, by her manifold and deplorable corruptions. Her unsoundness is not less apparent than her being. If she were once the spouse of Christ, and her adulteries are known; yet the divorce is not sued out."

Archbp. Bramhall, (Replication to the Bp. of Chalcedon, ch. ix. Works, p. 253. Dublin, 1676.) says, "He maketh our Church to be in worse condition than the Church of the Donatists, because *Protestants grant that the Church of Rome doth still retain the essence of a true Church, but the Donatists did deny that the Catholick Church of their time was a true Church.* Doth he not see that he argueth altogether against himself? The schism of the Donatists consisted therein, that they did uncharitably censure the Catholick Church to have lost the essence of the church; this was indeed to go schismatically out of the communion of the Church: and on the other side this is our safety and security, that we are so far from censuring the Catholick Church, that we do not censure the *Roman Church*, which is but a parti-

cular Church, to be no Church, or to have lost its communion with Christ, nor have separated from it in any essential of Christian religion, but only in corruptions and innovations." And again, (ibid.) "What Calvin saith, *That God accounteth him a forsaker of his religion, who obstinately separateth himself from any Christian society, which keepeth the true ministry of the word and sacraments.* Or that *there may some vice creep into the ministry of the word and sacraments, which ought not to alienate us from the communion of a true Church.* Or lastly, that *we must pardon errors in those things which may be unknown without violating the sum of religion, or without loss of salvation, or we shall have no Church at all,* doth not concern us, who do not dream of an Anabaptistical perfection, and upon this very ground do admit them to be a true church, though imperfect, who have not separated ourselves, but been chased away, who have only forsaken errors, not churches, much less obstinately, and least of all in essentials, who would gladly be contented to wink at small faults, so they would not intrude sinful duties upon us, as a condition of their communion."

Chillingworth, (Rel. of Prot.

should nevertheless be compelled as it were to bear testimony to the indefectibility of the truth, by retaining in so prominent and characteristic a manner these sacred and holy doctrines; let us not suffer the rancour of controversy to exaggerate errors from which we should rather seek to recover our fallen brethren, instead of denouncing them as apostates,—children of perdition,—followers of Antichrist. The cause we advocate, my brethren, needs not the support of falsehood or exaggeration; let us leave such arts of controversy to our adversaries; and as it is our high and inestimable birthright to be members of the purest and most primitive branch of the Ca-

Part i. ch. iii. §. 56.) says, "Neither can we thus conclude, we may safely hold with the Church of Rome, in all her points, for she cannot err damnably; for this is false, she may, though perhaps she doth not. But rather thus; these points of Christianity, which have in them the nature of antidotes against the poyson of all sins and errors, the Church of Rome, though otherwise much corrupted, still retains; therefore we hope she errs not fundamentally, but still remains a part of the church."

Bishop Burnet (on art. xix.) says, "Thus a plain difference is made between our owning that a church may retain the fundamentals of Christianity, a true baptism, and true orders, which are a consequent upon the former, and our

joining with that church in such acts as we think are so far vitiated, that they become unlawful to us to do them. Pursuant to this we do neither repeat the baptism, nor the ordinations of the Church of Rome: we acknowledge that our forefathers were both baptized and ordained in that communion: and we derive our present Christianity or baptism, and our orders, from thence: yet we think that there were so many unlawful actions, even in those rituals, besides the other corruptions of their worship, that we cannot join in such any more."

It will be seen that the foregoing quotations are not all taken from divines of the same school; and I need scarcely observe, that it would be easy to add to their number to almost any extent.

tholic Church on earth, so let it be our study, in the exposition of Holy Scripture, “to walk by faith and not by sight,” and in our controversies with them that separate themselves, to remember the apostolic injunction ; “ Let all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and evil speaking be put away from you, with all malice ; and be ye kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God for Christ’s sake hath forgiven you ‘.’”

But the interpretation of prophecy against which I have been reasoning is directly opposed to the spirit of this exhortation, and I am persuaded has been deeply injurious to the cause of the Reformation, as well as to the right understanding of the word of God. It aims at exaggerating the errors of the fallen Church with whose advocates we are contending ; it requires its followers to modify or cast aside the plain meaning of those prophecies which they are labouring to apply to the corruptions of the Christian Church ; it has drawn off the attention of our divines and controversialists from what should have been their real object, the reformation of abuses, and engaged them in the vain and chimerical speculation of endeavouring to prove that the corruptions of the Church were foretold in Scripture, and that the party who advocate them, are marked by prophecy with the curse of God.

The controversial origin of this interpretation, and its close alliance with human passions, and polemical

^c Eph. iv. 31, 32.

rancour, are manifest from many of the inconsistencies into which its advocates have fallen. What else, for example, can account for the fact to which I have already more than once called your attention, that the Greek Church is not supposed by this class of expositors to be included in the apostacy, although it is guilty of the very same errors, the very same idolatry, the very same excess of superstition, as the Church of Rome? Alas brethren, the answer to this question is but too obvious; the errors of Romanism are near us and around us; we are engaged in active warfare with their advocates, and we seize on every weapon that promises even an apparent advantage in the contest. But the similar corruptions of Eastern Christianity are remote from us and unseen; we have never had occasion to contend with their defenders, and we have rather felt it our interest to think them upon our side; hence, and hence only, can it be that we have not denounced the saint-worship, the celibacy, and the superstitious fasts of oriental Christians, as marking their Church for an apostacy, and their patriarchs for antichrists.

In such a spirit, brethren, it is impossible that we should succeed in discovering the true meaning of anything, above all of those sacred predictions of God's future dealings with His Church, "which things", we are told, "the angels desire to look into"^d. The pride of controversy, the arrogance of scholastic victory, are but sorry guides to the mind of him who seeks to penetrate those mysteries of which it is

^d 1 Peter, i. 12.

written, that they are hidden from the wise and prudent, while they are revealed unto babes.

And accordingly we have seen that the controversial expositors of these prophecies have wholly mistaken and misrepresented the very design with which they were given to the Church; instead of "a light shining in a dark place," a sign to warn us of our Saviour's coming, to which we are commanded to give heed "until the day dawn, and the day star arise in our hearts,"—the prophecies are reduced to obscure enigmas, clothed in symbols, whose explanation has baffled the learning and ingenuity of commentators in all ages; and whose fulfilment is so far from being plain and visible to all men, that we are required to explore the darkest mines of history, to traverse the wide field of human learning, before we can be certain that they are fulfilled at all.

If this be so, the prophecies of Scripture have been intended for the use of the theologian and the scholar only. The great majority of the Christian Church, the unlearned and unlettered, the poor to whom the gospel is preached, are necessarily shut out from the possibility of understanding the deep and far-fetched points of history, the nice distinctions, the figures, tropes, and symbols, which must be all explained and learned, before the prophecy can be better to them than an unread riddle. To the unlearned Christian, therefore, in vain is the commandment given, "to take heed" to this sacred word of prophecy; in vain

^c 2 Peter, i. 19.

is the blessing pronounced on all that read and hear, and keep it ^f, to him its light is darkness, its blessings unattainable, its real meaning capable only of being misunderstood.

In opposition to a system, therefore, that has led to such conclusions, let me exhort you to open the prophecies with the persuasion, that in the careful comparison of them with each other, taking them in their plain and literal signification, you have all that can be necessary for their interpretation. If the apostacy and the man of sin be the signs of our Lord's immediate coming, then they must be signs whose fulfilment will be plain and manifest to every Christian, whether he be learned, or whether he be unlearned. If a blessing be in store for him that readeth and them that hear the words of the Apocalypse, and who keep those things that are written therein, the words of that prophecy must be intelligible in their natural and grammatical signification, without the need of any external aid, to unfold a hidden meaning, or to discover in its visions a history of the Church and of the world.

With the full persuasion, therefore, that the true meaning of prophecy is that which is plain and literal, I have endeavoured to conduct the inquiry to which these Lectures are devoted; and if I have at all succeeded in communicating to you the convictions with which I am myself impressed, you will have seen that our chief difficulty has been to cast off

^f Rev. i. 3.

the prejudices and inconsistencies created by modern interpreters, and to return to the exposition, which in its great outlines was unanimously received by the ancient Church. You will have seen that the fulfilment of these predictions is as yet future; that the persecution of the Christian Church, which is foretold, will not only exceed in universality and severity all former persecutions, but will be accompanied by temptations to apostacy sufficient to try the faith of the most devoted Christian. Yea, that miracles shall be wrought by "seducing spirits," who, with the teaching of devils, shall have power to show such signs and wonders, as shall deceive, if it were possible, even the elect ^s. But the triumph of Antichrist and his apostate followers over the ruins of Christianity will be of short duration; in the midst of victory he shall "come to his end, and none shall help him ^b;" for He upon whose vesture, and upon whose thigh, is the Name written, KING OF KINGS, AND LORD OF LORDS, shall suddenly come against him; yea, the Lord shall consume him with the spirit of His mouth, and shall destroy him with the brightness of His coming ⁱ.

^s Matt. xxiv. 24, Rev. xiii. 12—14.

^b Dan. xi. 45.

ⁱ 2 Thes. ii. 8, Rev. xix. 11—21.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

“ It is as uncharitable a point in us to fall upon those popular scurrilities and opprobrious scoffs of the Bishop of Rome, to whom, as a temporal prince, we owe the duty of good language. I confess there is a cause of passion between us : by his sentence I stand excommunicated ; heretic is the best language he affords me : yet can no ear witness that I ever returned to him the name of Antichrist, man of sin, or whore of Babylon. It is the method of charity to suffer without reaction : those usual satires and invectives of the pulpit may perchance produce a good effect on the vulgar, whose ears are opener to rhetoric than logic ; yet do they, in no wise, confirm the faith of wiser believers, who know that a good cause needs not be patroned by passion, but can sustain itself upon a temperate dispute.” Sir Thomas Browne ; *Religio Medici*, sect. v.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

NOTE A.—See LECTURE I. pp. 18, and 27.

Mede's Treatise on Antichrist.

As the first of these Lectures is devoted chiefly to the refutation of an opinion put forward by Mede in his short treatise entitled “*Revelatio Antichristi, sive de numeris Danielis MCCXC. MCCCXXXV. **,” it will be necessary to examine more fully than was possible in a discourse delivered from the pulpit, the arguments of that treatise, especially as they have been largely borrowed by subsequent writers.

I. The first part of the treatise is occupied by a refutation of the opinion of Broughton, Junius, and their followers, that the periods of 1290 and 1335 days were literally fulfilled during the wars of Antiochus. This opinion, the author shows not only to be without support from Scripture, but also to be contradicted by history, and he concludes, that, whatever be the meaning of these numbers, they cannot be applied to the suspension of the Jewish religion under Antiochus; “*geminum hunc numerum, (quæcunque tandem ejus mens sit dicenda,) cladi religionis Judaicæ per Antiochum Epiphanem nullo modo adaptari posse.*” p. 719.

II. The next step in the argument, however, seems not so clearly established; for he reasons, that since these periods were not literally fulfilled as so many days in the

* Works, p. 717.

times of Antiochus, therefore the days must signify years :—
 “quid igitur hic restat, quam ut diebus istis (prout alibi solet) annos totidem significari putemus ?”

But although they were not fulfilled as *days* in the wars of Antiochus, may they not be fulfilled as days, in some other event, or at some other period ?

Let us consider, therefore, what more positive reasons Mede has here given for supposing days to mean *years*.

1. The first is hinted at in the short parenthesis, “prout alibi solet;” and no doubt if it could be proved that days were elsewhere always used for years, there might be the less scruple about taking them so here. But as the only instances of this that can be produced, are instances in which certain commentators have arbitrarily so interpreted the word, the argument can only be used *ad hominem*, with those who elsewhere adopt this interpretation ; and I admit that if we take days to mean years in other passages, there is no reason why we should refuse to do so in the prophecy before us. However, as the grounds of this theory have been so thoroughly sifted by Mr. Maitland, and shewn to be inadequate to its support, it will not be necessary to enter upon the subject more fully here. See Lecture I. p. 19, note ¹.

2. Mede's next reason for taking the 1290 and 1335 days to mean years, is, that the Jews appear to have so interpreted them. “*Illud Judæi animadvertentes, tot annos (de initio tamen numerationis incerti) ad Messiæ sui adventum, (quod unice in votis habent) fluxuros arbitrati sunt : non hodie solum, sed jam a multis retro seculis.*” p. 719.

The instances, however, to which he appeals in support of this assertion, are singularly weak and inconclusive. The first is this ; that, in the year 720, a Syrian Jew pretended to be the Messiah, and had some followers. From this fact Mede concludes that the impostor must have rested his pretensions on a calculation of the 1290 days con-

sidered as years, and computed from the destruction of Jerusalem in the reign of Zedekiah, although even so, as our author admits, the computation was inaccurate—"aber-ratum est in computo annis quindecim, quod leviusculum est." However, there is not a word of all this in the authority to which he refers, and which he quotes thus, "*An-no enim quinto Imperii Leonis* (ait Theophanes Author lib. 21. Histor. miscel. cap. 16.) id est, anno Æræ Christianæ 720, *apparuit quidam Syrus pseudo-christus, et seduxit Hebræos, dicens se esse Christum.*" *ibid.* I have not been able to consult the book here referred to by Mede, but the passage may be found in the *Chronographia* of Theophanes the Confessor, (Ed. Jac. Goar et Fran. Combefis, fol. Paris, 1655, p. 337.) *Τούτω τῷ ἔτει* [quin-to scil. Leonis] *ἐφάνη τις Σύρος ψευδόχριστος, καὶ ἐπλανήσε τοὺς Ἑβραίους, λέγων, αὐτὸν εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ.* Here we have nothing but the naked fact, that such an impostor had appeared, a thing not very uncommon amongst the Jews; but not a word is said of the grounds upon which he rested his pretensions, or of his having made any use of the prophecy in question, much less of his having interpreted days as years.

A similar observation may be made upon the next example, which is no more than the fact, that in or about the year 1130, an impostor named David El-David, who pretended to be the Messiah, or the precursor of Messiah, appeared amongst the Jews, and was beheaded by the King of Persia. This at least is Mede's statement of the story^b; and he infers from it that the impostor must have built his

^b "Iterum tempore *Maimonidis* circa annum Christi 1130, exortus est alius Pseudo-Messias seu Messiae Prodromus, *David, El-David* dictus, quem Rex Persarum decollari fecit. Supputârunt dies Danielis à prophanatione Antiochi; unde ad Christi annum 1123, sunt itidem anni 1290, neque hic multum in calculo, licet in re ipsâ nimium, aber-ratum fuit." p. 719.

pretensions on a computation of the 1290 days counted as years from the profanation of the temple by Antiochus, which would bring us to 1123, so that here also the computation was erroneous; and the error will be still greater, if, as some writers think, the real date of this enthusiast was 1160^c. However, be the date what it may, there is nothing in the history of David El-David to warrant the supposition, that either he or his followers took days for years, or made any use whatsoever of the prophecy to which Mede refers.

The authority quoted by Mede for the story of David El-David is an extract from a letter of Maimonides to the Rabbies of Marseilles, published by Buxtorf in his *Thesaurus Grammaticus*, p. 689; but the date is taken from an extract from the Judæo-German version of the *Shevet Jehuda*, (also quoted by Buxtorf, *ibid.* p. 683,) where the Jewish year 4895, or A.D. 1135, is mentioned as the year in which the impostor flourished^d. Nor is it quite clear that the letter of Maimonides refers to the same individual who is spoken of in the extract from the *Shevet Jehuda*; although Buxtorf seems to think them the same. For the impostor alluded to by Maimonides is not named, neither is he said to have pretended to be the Messiah, but only to be the forerunner of Messiah; whereas David El-David certainly claimed to be the Messiah. Eisenmenger gives 1167 as the date of the impostor mentioned by Maimonides, and distinguishes him from David El-

^c Jo. a Lent, de Pseudo-Messiis cited by Wolf, *Biblioth. Hebr.* tom. i. n. 470, p. 288. Others place him in 1199 or 1200; but erroneously.

^d Mede, however, (from his reference "*Vide Epist. Maimonidis apud Buxtorf. in fine Thesauri Gram. et Helvicum,*") seems to have taken the date "*circa annum 1130*" from the "*Theatrum historicum*" of Christ. Helvicus, where, from want of room in the tabular column headed "*Viri celebres*" (p. 129,) the entry "*David El-David Pseudo-Messias, a Persarum rege decollatus,*" is printed so as to appear to belong equally to any year from 1130 to 1135.

David, (Entdecktes Judenthum, ii. Theils xiii. cap. pp. 661—664.) It is more to our immediate purpose, however, to observe, that the impostor appears to have rested his claims, not on any supposed fulfilment of prophecy, but on his power of working miracles; for Maimonides tells us expressly, that the Jews who had requested his opinion of this pretender, had seen certain miracles performed, or apparently performed, by him^e: (Buxtorf ubi sup. p. 689.)

ואמרו לי שכבר ראו מנפלאותיו כך וכך ושאלו לי על זה :

“And they told me that they had seen his miracles, so and so, and they asked my opinion of the matter.”

It is clear, therefore, that these instances prove nothing for Mede's object: for it does not appear that these false Christs so much as pretended to fulfil the prophecy in question, or to put forward any interpretation of the prophetic days.

Nor will his third and only remaining instance be deemed much more satisfactory. It is taken from a prophecy delivered by R. Abraham, that the Messiah would appear in the year 1466; and Mede concludes that the Rabbi fixed upon this period by counting 1335 years from the date of “the abomination of desolation” set up in the temple by the emperor Adrian; “Simili fundamento innixus videtur R. *Abraham*, qui *Messiae* adventum prædixisse fertur in annum Christi 1466, ducto videlicet posteriori numero prophetico ab anno Christi 131, quo *Adrianus* in loco ubi templum Domini steterat, βδελυγμα ἐρημώσεως, puta delubrum *Jovi Capitolino*, extruxit. Inde enim ad annum

^e The whole letter is printed in Buxtorf's *Institutio Epistolaris Hebraica*, p. 444, and a Latin Version of that portion of it which relates to the impostor, is given in Vorstius's notes to his Latin Version of the Chronology of R. Ganz, called, צמח דוד; where may also be seen, in Latin, extracts from another letter of Maimonides, and from the Schevet Jehuda, p. 292—305. Lugd. Bat. 1644. 4to. See also Basnage, *Hist. des Juifs*, liv. vii. c. 9, n. 11, sq. (tom. v. p. 1639, 12mo. Rotterdam. 1707.)

Christi 1466 numerantur ad amussim anni 1335. Sed nullus tunc, quod sciam, apparuit qui se pro Messia vendicaret." p. 719.

For this Mede quotes no authority. However, as he had just before referred to Helvicus, it seems probable that the "Theatrum historicum" of that author was the source of his information; and accordingly we meet there (p. 143,) at the year 1464, the following record, "Rabbi Abraham Judæus, Astrologus vanissimus et superstitiosissimus, prædixit adventum Messiae anno Christi 1464, *Pic. Mirand.*" And upon reference to *Mirandula, De rerum prænotione*, lib. v. c. 10, (Opp. tom. ii. p. 383, fol. Basil. 1601,) we find the fact recorded thus, "Abraam Judæus Messiam eorum promisit anno Christi Mcccclxiiij. ea scilicet ratione, quod tunc erat ea syderum positio reditura sub qua Moses populum duxit ex Aegypto, et legem illis posuit." The same author, *Disputt. in Astrologiam*, lib. v. c. 1, (Opp. tom. i. p. 372,) again mentions R. Abraham's prophecy in almost the same words.

We see therefore that the grounds of this mighty prediction were, not the prophecies of Scripture, or any calculation founded upon the 1335 days of Daniel, but a miserable conjecture of superstitious astrology f.

It appears also that Mede, in his zeal to make this last example, at least, square "ad amussim" with his conjecture, copied the date very carelessly from the tables of Helvicus; for although Helvicus gives correctly 1464, as the year predicted, yet the entry is printed opposite to the year 1466. However, the error into which Mede was thus led, was doubtless unintentional, for he who had just disposed

^f The R. Abraham, who is thus pressed into the service of the day-year theory, was R. Abraham ben R. Chiya, a Spanish Jew, who flourished at the beginning of the 12th century. See Wolf. Biblioth. Hebr. n. 75. tom. i. p. 51.

of a discrepancy of some fifteen years, with a “quod leviusculum est,” would hardly have committed a wilful falsification of his authority for the sake of two.

Where then, I may now ask, is the evidence that the Jews, or any body else, in the twelfth century, believed the days in Daniel’s prophecy to mean years?

III. We now come to the main object of the treatise. Having shewn that the two periods of 1290 and 1335 days, did not relate to the first advent of the Lord, as he imagined the followers of the Jewish impostors just mentioned to have believed, and having dismissed as unworthy of refutation the opinion of some Christians that they relate to the second advent ^s, Mede proceeds to state his own view of the prophecy, which is briefly this; that the double period of 1290 and 1335 years, denotes the time during which the prophecies relating to Antichrist and the times of the fourth Monarchy were to remain “shut up and sealed;” and at the end of which, therefore, these predictions were to begin to be understood, and Antichrist to be revealed. “Sic igitur statuo: Eventum quem *geminus iste numerus* exitu suo designat, nec esse adventum Christi, nec restaurationem Israelis; quinimo Vaticinii de temporibus quarti regni novissimis, seu *Antichristi* (quo angelus Dan. xii. 6, חַזַּן דְּמִלְאִיָּהוּ *finem mirabilium* retulerat) resignationem; eousque puta, quid illis occultaretur, quove pertinerent, etiam cum impleri cœperint, ignorandis.” p. 719.

The commencement of these periods he computes from the setting up of the abomination of desolation by Antiochus Epiphanes, and then, according to the principle of counting days as years, he infers that they will terminate in the middle of the twelfth century:

^s “Mihi eas” [scil. sententias Christianorum geminum dierum numerum ad Christi secundum adventum referentium,] “ultra referendi non est animus, ut nec refellendi.” p. 719.

“Prior numerus a profanatione *Epiphaniana* numeratus exit ad annum Domini 1123.

“Posterior ad annum Domini 1168.

“Sed cum peccatum illud desolationis, (חפצו שם) ut appellatur Dan. viii. 13,) ultra sexennium duraverit; haud incommode a singulis ejus annis duci potest calculi prophetici initium, atque ad totidem annos in exitu terminari. Anni autem, quos jam posui, a medio sexennii numerantur, quando *Juge sacrificium sublatum est*, anno ante æram Christianam 167.”—p. 720.

Thus it appears, that notwithstanding the accuracy with which these periods have been defined in prophecy, we are unable to fix their termination within six years: in other words, each period may have six different beginnings, and therefore also six different ends. Upon this theory I shall now make some brief remarks.

1. That the commencement of these periods, or at least of the first of them, is to be dated from the setting up of the abomination of desolation, is indeed expressly asserted in the prophecy. “From the time that the daily sacrifice shall be taken away, and the abomination that maketh desolate set up, there shall be a thousand two hundred and ninety days^b.” It is not, however, so clear, that “the abomination that maketh desolate” must necessarily mean the profanation of the temple by Antiochus; for if so we shall be forced to interpret the whole of the eleventh chapter of the wars of that conqueror, an hypothesis that has never been shewn to agree sufficiently with the predictionⁱ. It may be added also, that our Lord has mentioned the abomination of desolation “spoken of by Daniel the prophet,” as an event that was in His time future^j, which could not have been the case if it had been fulfilled in the times of Antiochus; and it is one of the

^b Dan. xii. 11.

ⁱ See Lecture IV.

^j Matt. xxiv. 15, 16.

most remarkable features in the history of Antichrist, that he shall occupy Judæa, plant his tabernacles on the holy mountain, and sit in the very temple of God^k.

I admit, therefore, that the 1290 days will begin at the setting up of the abomination that maketh desolate, but it will be at the setting up of that abomination of desolation, which shall take place in the times of Antichrist, when he shall "pollute the sanctuary of strength, and take away the daily sacrifice^l."

2. I would observe also that this interpretation supposes the 1290 and 1335 days to terminate at the first rise or revelation of Antichrist; contrary to the express words of the prophecy, which speaks of these periods as to be followed immediately by the resurrection of the dead; for this is evidently "the time of the end" of which we read, "at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book; and many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt^m;" this is evidently the period of which the angel asked "How long shall it be to the end of these wonders?" and of which "the man clothed in linen" said to Daniel, "But go thy way till the end be; for thou shalt rest and stand in thy lot at the end of the days," that is, manifestly, at the end of the 1335 days that had just been mentionedⁿ. "The end of the days," therefore, must be coincident with the period when Daniel shall "stand in his lot," that is to say, with the resurrection of the just.

3. Again, it is to be noted that the period of 1335 days is spoken of in the text, as the commencement of a season of blessedness; "Blessed is he that waiteth and cometh to

^k Dan. xi. 41, 45. 2 Thes. ii. 4. See Lect. IV. p. 157, 158, and Lect. V. p. 216, sq.

^l Dan. xi. 31.

^m Dan. xii. i. 2.

ⁿ Dan. xii. 6—13.

the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days °." But, if we understand this as Mede has done, it is hard to conceive what can be the peculiar happiness of living under the reign of Antichrist, nor will it be easy to shew how this condition of the prophecy was fulfilled in the case of those who lived in the middle of the twelfth century P.

IV. We have seen, however, that, according to Mede's theory, each of the two periods may have six beginnings, and consequently that their terminations are spread over periods of six years each; the 1290 days terminating with the six years from A. D. 1120 to 1125, and the 1335 days with the years from A. D. 1166 to 1171 inclusive.

° The passage is probably parallel to the declaration of the Apocalypse, "Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection: on such the second death hath no power, but they shall be priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with him a thousand years." (Rev. xx. 6, comp. also ver. 4, and Lect. III. p. 117, note *.) And we may perhaps find another prophecy of the same events in the words of St. Paul, "For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first: then we which are alive and remain, shall be caught up together with them in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air; and so shall we ever be with the Lord." 1 Thes. iv. 16, 17.

P Mede has understood this blessedness as belonging to those who lived *at the end* of the 1335 days, and he supposes their happiness to have consisted in their having been killed in battle, whereby, he conceives, they obtained the glory and rewards of martyrdom. Speaking of the secession of the Waldenses and Albigenses from the Roman Church, he says, "In quos ingens statim persecutio exorta est, immo integri exercitus adversus eos ducti; tantaque strages (priusquam cessatum est) edita, ut per Galliam solam, si *Paulus Perronius* in ejus belli historia recte calculum inierit, occisa sint ad DECIES CENTENA hominum MILLIA; sed *Beati mortui qui in Domino moriuntur; amodo dicit Spiritus*, Apoc. xiv. 13. Id quod et Angelus hic apud Danielelem spectasse videtur, cum dixerat, *Beatus qui expectat et pertingit ad dies M.CCC.XXXV.* nisi illud forte potius ad illustriorem *Antichristi* patefactionem tunc futuram referendum, quâ beatus esset cui eam videre contigisset." p. 723.

He proceeds, therefore, next, to show from history, that the prophecy was fulfilled at the time thus ascertained; and for this purpose he labours first to prove that a general expectation of the immediate coming of Antichrist prevailed at the commencement of the twelfth century; secondly, that at each of the two periods marked out by the termination of the 1290 and 1335 days, opinions were put forward, fixing the character of Antichrist on the papal see; for, that in the first of those periods, A.D. 1120—1125, the doctrine was first broached that Antichrist was not to be an individual man, as had been before unanimously believed, but a state of men, namely, the corrupt state of the Church, from which the true followers of Christ were bound to separate; and that in the second period, A.D. 1166—1171, the same opinion was widely spread in a still higher state of development, for then, as he tells us, it was asserted, with marvellous consent and constancy, “*mirabili plane consensu et constantiâ*,” that the Roman Church was the Babylon of the apocalypse, the mother of harlots, and abominations of the earth; and then also began the crusades against the Albigenses, Waldenses, and other reputed heretics, whereby great multitudes were put to death, and whereby the prophecies were fulfilled, “*Blessed are the dead, which die in the Lord*,” and “*Blessed is he that waiteth and cometh to the end of the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days*.”

‘Rev. xiv. 13. Dan. xii. 12. This is a curious example of the juxtaposition of passages, which are wholly unconnected, and which could never have been brought together but for the exigency of a theory; the one speaking of the living, (“*Blessed is he that waiteth and cometh*,”) the other of the *dead*, (“*Blessed are the dead, which die in the Lord*.”) And it is remarkable, that on Mede’s theory the passages are peculiarly inconsistent, for the latter refers to a period after the fall of Babylon, (see Rev. xiv. 8,) and the other, according to Mede, was fulfilled at the first rise or revelation of Antichrist. Such are the

These assertions, with the authorities to which Mede appeals in support of them, I shall now proceed to examine.

1. And first we are to consider what our author has called the "*Fama πρόδρομος oraculi implendi*," or the expectation that prevailed at the beginning of the twelfth century, that Antichrist was about to be revealed.

To make this of any weight in the argument about the days of Daniel, Mede should have shown that the expectation of Antichrist's immediate coming, which, he says, prevailed in the 12th century, was the consequence of the same interpretation of the prophecy for which he is contending; for the mere fact that the times of Antichrist were deemed to be at hand, will prove nothing, inasmuch as a similar opinion may be found in almost every century. And besides, if, as Mede contends, the prophecy was then unsealed, and its meaning then beginning to be understood, it is the more necessary to prove that the expectation of Antichrist which existed in the twelfth century was founded upon, or at least bore some relation to the prophecy in question.

But before we inquire whether or not this can be proved, it may be well to make some remarks on the general expectation of the near approach of Antichrist, which, as I have said, may be found in all ages.

I do not now speak of those passages of ancient writers in which the term Antichrist is employed in invective or controversy, in which heretics, for example, are termed Antichrists or forerunners of Antichrist, or in which some particular heresiarch is denominated *an* Antichrist^r; I speak only of the opinion, which prevailed at all times,

inconsistencies to which expositors, however learned, are perpetually liable, whenever they presume to theorize upon the text of Scripture.

^r See Lect. III. p. 98, sq.

that the end of the world, and consequently the revelation of *the* Antichrist, were at hand.

This opinion, in its most general form, originated evidently in those numerous passages of the Apostolic writings in which the end of all things is declared to be at hand. St. Augustine, for example, thus reasons from those passages; “*Quod autem de signis evangelicis et propheticis, quæ fieri cernimus, propinquum Domini adventum sperare debeamus, quis negat? quotidie quippe magis magisque fit proximus. Sed quanto intervallo propinquet, Hoc, dictum est, non est vestrum scire. Vide quando dixit Apostolus, Nunc enim propior est nostra salus, quam cum credidimus. Nox præcessit, dies autem appropinquavit: et ecce quot anni transierunt! nec tamen quod dixit falsum est. Quanto magis nunc dicendum est propinquare Domini adventum; quando tantus est ad finem factus accessus!*” Epist. cxcix. ad Hesychium, De fine sæculi, c. viii. n. 22, (Opp. t. ii. 748, Ed. Bened.) And again, “*Jam tunc ergo erant dies novissimi; quanto magis nunc, etiamsi tantum dierum remansit usque in finem, quantum ad hunc diem a Domini ascensione transactum est, vel aliquid sive minus restet sive amplius? quod profecto nescimus, quia non est nostrum scire tempora vel momenta, quæ Pater posuit in sua potestate: cum tamen sciamus, in novissimis temporibus, in novissimis diebus, in novissima hora nos agere, sicut Apostoli.*” Ibid. n. 24.

The following extracts will give the reader some specimens of the manner in which this opinion of the near approach of Antichrist and the consummation of all things was put forward by ancient writers; and the dates^s which

^s These dates are to be understood as indicating only the period when each author flourished, not (unless when expressly so stated) the date of the work from which the extract is made. I have, for the most part, followed Cave, as sufficiently accurate for my present purpose.

I have annexed, will enable him to judge how absurd it is to represent such an opinion as peculiar to or characteristic of the twelfth century.

In the first century we find this opinion expressed by St. Barnabas, (A.D. 34.) Ἐγγὺς γὰρ ἡμέρα ἐν ᾗ συναπολείται πάντα τῷ πονήρῳ. Ἐγγὺς ὁ Κύριος, καὶ ὁ μισθος αὐτοῦ. Epist. n. xxi. ap. Cotel. t. i. p. 53. By Hermas, (A.D. 67.) “Interrogavi illam,” [anum. scil.] “de temporibus, si jam consummatio est? Illa autem exclamavit voce magna, dicens: Insensate homo! nonne vides turrim semper ædificari. Quando ergo consummata fuerit turris et ædificata, habet finem: sed et cito consummabitur.” Pastor, lib. i. n. 8, ap. Cotel. t. i. p. 81. And by St. Clemens Romanus, (A.D. 91.) Ὁρᾶτε ὅτι ἐν καιρῷ ὀλίγῳ εἰς πέπειρον καταντᾷ ὁ καρπὸς τοῦ ξύλου ἐπ’ ἀληθείας ταχὺ καὶ ἐξαίφνης τελειωθήσεται τὸ βούλημα αὐτοῦ, συνεπιμαρτυρούσης καὶ τῆς γραφῆς, ὅτι ταχὺ ἤξει ὁ Κύριος εἰς τὸν ναὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὁ ἅγιος ὃν ὑμεῖς προσδοκᾶτε. Ep. 1, ad Cor. c. xxiii. ap. Cotel. t. i. p. 162, 3.

In the second century; St. Ignatius (A. D. 100.) says, Ἐσχατοὶ καιροὶ λοιπὸν εἰσιν. Ep. ad Ephes. c. xi. Cotel. t. ii. p. 48. St. Justin Martyr, (A. D. 140.) See the passages already quoted, Lect. III. note ^a, p. 99. And Tertullian, (A. D. 192.) “Antichristo jam instante, et in sanguinem non in pecunias Christianorum inhiantē.” De fuga in persecut. c. xii. p. 699, Ed. Rigalt. Lutet. 1634.

We are told by Eusebius, that one Judas, who in the third century wrote upon the seventy weeks of Daniel, maintained the opinion that Antichrist was then (i. e. about the tenth year of the Emperor Severus, or A. D. 202,) at hand. Eusebius says, ὃς καὶ τὴν θρυλλουμένην τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου παρουσίαν, ἤδη τότε πλησιάζειν ᾤετο. Hist. Eccl. lib. vi. c. 7. St. Cyprian (A. D. 248,) has expressed this opinion in many passages of his writings “Scire enim debetis et pro certo credere ac tenere, pressuræ diem super caput esse

cœpisse, et occasum seculi et Antichristi tempus appropinquasse; ut parati omnes ad prælium stemus." Ep. lviii. p. 120, Ed. Fell. "Illorum flenda et lamentanda concisio est, quos sic diabolus excæcat; ut æterna gehennæ supplicia non cogitantes, Antichristi jam propinquantis adventum conentur imitari." Ep. lix. p. 139. "Et quia jam secundus ejus [Christi] adventus appropinquat, magis ac magis benigna ejus et larga dignatio corda nostra luce veritatis illuminat." Ep. lxiii. p. 157. "Ut altari Dei assistat antistes et imminente Antichristo paret ad prælium milites." Ep. lxi. p. 144. "Adimplentur quæcunque prædicta sunt; et appropinquante jam seculi fine, hominum pariter ac temporum probatione venerunt." De unit. eccl. p. 115.

The writers of the fourth century would supply abundant examples; but I shall only select the following from the more eminent fathers of that period; Lactantius (A. D., 303,) speaking of the day of judgment, says, "cujus judicii propinquare tempus ostendam," De Div. præm. lib. vii., c. 14, p. 642, Ed. Tho. Spark, Oxon. 1684. And again (ibid. c. 15, p. 646,) "propinquante igitur hujus seculi termino, humanarum rerum statum commutari necesse est, et in deterius nequitia invalescente prolabi," and then he goes on to describe the calamities of the latter times. St. Cyril of Jerusalem, (A. D. 350,) after quoting 2 Thes. ii. 3, &c. says, Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Παῦλος. νῦν δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ ἀποστασία. ἀπέστησαν γὰρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι τῆς ὀρθῆς πίστεως. Catech. xv. 9, p. 228, B. Ed. Bened. And again, "Αὐτὴ τοίνυν ἐστὶν ἡ ἀποστασία, καὶ μέλλει προσδοκᾶσθαι ὁ ἐχθρὸς καὶ τέως κατὰ μέρος ἤρξατο ἀποστέλλειν τοὺς ἐαυτοῦ προδρόμους ἵνα ἔτοιμος ἔλθῃ λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν. Βλέπε τοίνυν σεαυτὸν, ἄνθρωπε, καὶ ἀσφαλίζου τὴν ψυχὴν. διαμαρτύρεται σε ἡ ἐκκλησία νῦν ἐπὶ θεοῦ ζῶντος, προδιαλέγεται σοὶ τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου πρὶν παραγενέσθαι. καὶ εἴτε ἐπὶ σου γινεταὶ οὐκ οἶδα μὲν, εἴτε μετὰ σε γινεταὶ οὐκ οἶδαμεν. καλὸν δὲ ἐστὶ ταῦτα

εἰδότα σε προασφαλίσασθαι. *ibid.* C. St. Hilary of Poitiers, (A. D. 354,) speaking of 1 Tim. iv. 1, &c., says, “*Incidimus plane in hoc prophetiæ apostolicæ molestissimum tempus.*” *De Trinit.* l. x. n. 3, col. 1038. *Opp. Edit. Bened. Par.* 1693, fol. And again, “*Secundum placitam Deo plenitudinem coartata sunt tempora. Circumscripta enim ratio eorum coelestibus libris docetur: ac necesse est in ipsam nos ætatem Antichristi incidisse, &c.*” *Contra Auxent.* n. 5, col. 1615. See also n. 1, col. 1263, where he speaks of the Arians as “*imminentis Antichristi prævii ministrique.*” St. Gregory of Nazianzum, (A. D. 370,) speaking of the evils of his own time, says, καὶ τοῦ προβήσεται ταῦτα καὶ στησεται; δέδοικα μὴ καπνὸς ᾗ τοῦ προσδοκουμένου πυρὸς τὰ παρόντα, μὴ τοῦτοις ὁ Ἀντίχριστος ἐπιστῇ, καὶ καιρὸν λάβῃ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δυναστείας, τὰ ἡμέτερα πταίωμά τε καὶ ἁρρώσήματα. *Orat.* xiv. *Opp. tom.* i. p. 218, fol. *Par.* 1630. St. Ephræm Syrus, (A. D. 370,) Τὰ γὰρ γεγραμμένα λοιπὸν ἐπληρώθησαν, καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα σημεῖα τέλος ἔχει, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι λοιπὸν, εἰ μὴ τὰ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ ἡμῶν τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου. *Serm. Ascet. Opp. Græc. tom.* i. p. 44, C. *Romæ.* 1732. And again, (*ibid.* p. 66, A.) Ἡ χάρ ἐσπέρα ἡγγικε, καὶ ὁ μισθαποδότης μετὰ δόξης ἔρχεται ἀποδοῦναι ἐκάστῳ κατὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ. St. Jerome, in a letter written A. D. 409, uses the near approach of Antichrist as an argument against second marriages, “*Verum quid ago? Fracta navi de mercibus disputo. Qui tenebat, de medio fit, et non intelligimus Antichristum appropinquare, quem Dominus Jesus Christus interficiet spiritu oris sui.*” *Ad Ageruchiam, de monogamia.* *Ep.* cxxiii. n. 16, *Ed. Vallars.* And lastly, St. Chrysostom, (A. D. 398.) Καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ θύραις τὰ πράγματα, καὶ οὐκ ἴσμεν μὴ ποτε καὶ ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ γενεᾷ τέλος ἔξει τὰ καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἅπαντα, καὶ ἡ φοβερὰ παραγένηται ἡμέρα ἐκείνη, τὸ φρικῶδες ἡμῖν ἐνδεικνυμένη καὶ ἀδέκαστον δικαστήιον. Καὶ γάρ τὰ πλείονα τῶν σημείων ἀπῆρτισται, καὶ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον λοιπὸν παντα-

χοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης κεκήρυκται, καὶ τὰ τῶν πολέμων, καὶ τὰ τῶν σεισμῶν, καὶ τὰ τῶν λιμῶν ἐξέβη, καὶ οὐ πολὺ τὸ μέσον. Ἄλλ' οὐχ ὁρᾷς τὰ σημεῖα; Καὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸ μέγιστον σημεῖον. Hom. xx. in Matt. tom. vii. p. 267, E. Ed. Bened.

At the beginning of the fifth century (A. D. 418—420,) a correspondence took place on this subject, between St. Augustin and Hesychius Bp. of Salona, or Saldon, in Dalmatia. I have already given an extract from one of St. Augustine's letters,¹ and the following passages from the letter of Hesychius will shew that he also held the same opinion ; “certum est tempus carere computo, quod brevianandum est a Domino qui tempora constituit; appropinquasse autem adventum ejus, cujus signa adventus aliqua videmus ex iis quæ facta sunt, esse completa.” Ep. cxcviii. (Opp. August. tom. ii. p. 740, Ed. Bened.) Commentators suppose that Hesychius considered the prophecy *Erunt signa in sole*, &c., to have been fulfilled by the eclipse of the sun, which took place on the 19th of July, A. D. 418; so that it may not perhaps be quite fair to quote the foregoing words as an instance of the expectation of the end derived from the general declarations in Scripture of its proximity. There are, however, abundant examples of this in other writers; as for example, St. Vincent of Lérins, (A. D. 434,) “Ad quod me negotium non solum fructus operis, sed etiam consideratio temporis, et opportunitas loci adhortatur. Tempus, propterea quod cum ab eo omnia humana rapiantur, et nos ex eo aliquid invicem rapere debemus, quod in vitam proficiat æternam: præsertim cum et appropinquantis divini judicii terribilis quædam expectatio augeri flagitet studia religionis.” Commonitor. præf. (ap. Biblioth. Patrum, tom. vii. p. 249, 250, Lugd. 1677.) St. Leo the Great, Bishop of Rome, (A. D. 440,) “Cum de adventu regni Dei, et de mundi fine ac temporum, discipulos suos

¹ See p. 369.

Salvator instrueret, totamque Ecclesiam suam in Apostolis erudiret: *Cavete, inquit, ne fortè graventur corda vestra in crapulâ, et ebrietate, et cogitationibus secularibus.* Quod utique præceptum, dilectissimi, ad nos specialiùs pertinere cognoscimus: quibus denunciatus dies, etiam si est occultus, non dubitatur esse vicinus." Serm. xviii. (De jejun. decimi mensis, Ser. viii.) Opp. p. 137, 4°. Lut. Par. 1675. St. Avitus, Bishop of Vienne, (A. D. 490.) "*Nam cum in Evangelio de fine sæculi prædicetur, Exurgent gens contra gentem, et regnum contra regnum, et ex ipsis malorum indiciis imminere jam penè mundi terminum colligamus, nisi quod suprâ dixi de Catholicis figuratè accipiatur, nescio ut quid post sæculi finem obtunsa telorum acies in ligones et vomeros commutetur.*" Epist. ad D. Gundobadum Regem. Opp. p. 64, Ed. Sirmondi, Par. 1643.

Of the writers of the sixth century, we may quote St. Gregory, Bishop of Tours, (A. D. 570,) who thus begins his history of France: "*Illud etiam placuit, propter eos qui appropinquante mundi fine desperant, ut collecta per chronica vel per historias anteriorum annorum summa, explanetur apertè, quot ab exordio mundi sint anni.*" Hist. Francor. l. i. c. 1. And St. Gregory the Great, Bishop of Rome, (A. D. 590,) mentions a vision or dream of Redemptus, Bishop of Ferentinum in Campania, to whom St. Eutychius appeared, and said, "*Redempte, vigilas? Cui respondit: Vigilo. Qui ait: Finis venit universæ carnis. Finis venit universæ carnis. Finis venit universæ carnis. Post quam trinam vocem visio Martyris, quæ mentis ejus oculis apparebat, evanuit.*" Upon which St. Gregory remarks, "*Quid in aliis mundi partibus agatur, ignoro. Nam in hac terra, in qua nos vivimus, finem suum mundus jam non nuntiat, sed ostendit.*" Dial. lib. iii. c. 38. (Opp. tom. ii. col. 368. Ed. Bened.)

In the eighth century Theodulphus, Bishop of Orleans,

(A. D. 794,) wrote a poem entitled “*Quod multis indiciis finis proximus esse monstretur,*” which begins thus, (Carmin. lib. vi. carm. 14, Inter Opp. Sirmondi, tom ii. p. 1114,)

“*Cernere inest, ut est mundus signetque ruinam,
Defectumque sui voce tacente canat.*”

Theodorus Studites, (A.D. 813,) Ὁρᾶτε, ἀδελφοὶ ἅγιοι, τὴν ἀποστασίαν ἣν δεῖ πρῶτον ἐλθεῖν, καθὰ φησὶν ὁ ἀπόστολος. Ἦδη ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν ὁρῶμεν τὰ εἰσόδια τοῦ ἀντιχριστοῦ. Epist. lib. ii. Ep. xvii. (Opp. Sirmondi. tom. v. p. 410, E.) Agobard, Archbishop of Lyons, (A. D. 813.) “*Nam et cecidendum est majoribus, subtilioribus, ac facundioribus, quibus perfacile est altiora et occultiora hujus rei pandere, quod jam jamque fieri oportet, frigescente multorum caritate, abundante ubique iniquitate, incredulorum convalescente improbitate, Antichristi fallacia adpropinquante.*” De Judaicis superst. c. xxvii. (Opp. p. 98, Ed. Baluzii. Par. 1666.) And again, “*dubium non est præparatum vos ad remedium temporibus periculosis, de quibus Apostolus loquitur: In novissimis diebus instabunt tempora periculosa, et erunt homines se ipsos amantes, cupidi, elati, et cetera, et habentes quidem speciem pietatis, virtutem autem ejus abnegantes; de quibus nihil est expectandum quod jam non videatur, nisi solutio Satanæ, et publica calcatio sanctæ civitatis mensibus quadraginta duobus, quæ futura est per caput omnium iniquorum Antichristum.*” De insol. Judæor. (Opp. p. 60.)

And to take one example only from the tenth century, Heriveus, or Herve, Archbishop of Rheims, in the speech with which he opened the council of Trosly, A. D. 909, after describing the immorality of the times, and the corruptions of the clergy, thus addresses the assembled bishops, “*Nobis ergo, qui nomine censemur episcopi, maxima et prope importabilis incumbit sarcina pastoralis officii, dum instat reddenda ratio negotii nobis commissi cum exactione*

lucri : et dum jam jamque adventus imminet illius in majestate terribili, ubi omnes cum gregibus suis venient pastores in conspectum Pastoris æterni, augmentum de grege, lucrum de negotio, manipulos de segete allaturi, &c." Concil. Trosi. (Hardouin. tom. vi. part. 1, col. 506, D.)

These examples, the number of which might easily be increased, have been taken, it will be seen, from the writings of the most eminent ecclesiastical authors ; they establish, beyond a question, the fact that an expectation of Antichrist, and of the speedy approach of the day of judgment, was far from being peculiar to the twelfth century. It is to be observed also, that I have confined myself to such writers only as have asserted the near approach of Antichrist on the general grounds of the lapse of time since the days of the Apostles, omitting all notice of fanatics, enthusiasts, and impostors, as well as of that whole class of commentators who interpreted local events, such as famines, pestilences, meteors, or political commotions, assigns or precursors of the time of the end ^u.

Expositors of this kind may be found in all ages ^v, and

^u Thus, for example, a pretended prophetess, who was condemned at Mayence, A. D. 847, gave out that she had received a divine revelation telling her that the end of the world was at hand ; "Certum consummationis sæculi diem, aliaque perplura Dei solius notitia cognita, quasi divinitus sibi revelata, scire se fatebatur, et eodem anno ultimum diem mundum imminere prædicabat." She was followed by great numbers of the lower orders (multi plebei utriusque sexûs,) and by some even of the clergy ; but when taken up and examined by the bishops, she confessed "presbyterum quendam sibi ea suggessisse, et se talia quæstus causa narrasse." *Annal. Fuldens.* quoted by Baroni-
nius, ad an. 847, n. 30. See also *Chron. Hirsaug. Trithemii*, tom. i. p. 21.

^v Thus, for example, the French revolution at the close of the last century, and the atrocities then perpetrated against religion and morality, produced a host of commentators, who applied the prophecies about Antichrist to the events of that period, proving Buonaparte to be

their opinions obviously prove nothing but the weakness and credulity of mankind. There are, however, two ancient opinions that deserve notice, as founded upon interpretations of prophecy, once perhaps as plausible as many modern theories, although now refuted by time.

Of these, the most ancient was derived from a notion, which seems to have originated with the Jews,* that the six days of creation (Gen. i.) indicated the duration of the world, each day being with the Lord as a thousand years, (Ps. cx. 4). Lactantius has stated this tradition in the following words; “Ergo quoniam sex diebus cuncta Dei opera perfecta sunt; per secula sex, id est annorum sex millia manere hoc statu mundum necesse est. Dies enim magnus Dei mille annorum circulo terminatur, sicut indicat propheta qui dicit: Ante oculos tuos, Domine, mille anni, tanquam dies unus. Et ut Deus sex illos dies in tantis rebus fabricandis laboravit; ita et religio ejus et veritas in his sex millibus annorum labore necesse est, malitia prævalente ac dominante.” Institt. lib. vii. c. 14. p. 643. So also St. Irenæus, Ὅσαις ἡμέραις ἐγένετο ὁ κόσμος, τοσαύταις χιλιοντάσι συντελείται. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φησὶν ἡ γραφή· καὶ συνετελέσθησαν ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ, καὶ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος αὐτῶν. καὶ συνετέλεσεν ὁ Θεὸς τῇ σ' τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ ἃ ἐποίησε, καὶ κατέπαυσεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ζ' ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ. τοῦτο δ' ἔστι τῶν προγεγονότων διήγησις, καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων προφητεία. ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα Κυρίου ὡς ἅ ἔτη· ἐν ἑξ οὖν ἡμέραις συντελέσται τὰ

the man of sin, and Paris the Babylon of the Apocalypse. Nor is this school of interpretation, notwithstanding the refutation that time has given to so many theories, altogether extinct among us even at the present day. Mr. Faber still continues to predict the end of the world in the year 1865, and believes the spread of infidelity at the French revolution to have been a fulfilment of the prophecies of Antichrist. Sacr. Cal. vol. ii. Book iii. ch. 4.

* See Eisenmenger Entdecktes Judenthum, Th. ii. p. 652, and p. 678, sq.

γεγονότα φανερόν οὖν, ὅτι ἡ συντέλεια αὐτῶν τὸ ε' ἔτος ἔστιν. Contr. Hær. lib. v. c. 28, n. 3.

St. Hippolytus, who flourished A. D. 202, is reported to have predicted from this tradition, the coming of Antichrist in the year 500^{*}; this we learn from Photius, who tells us that he had read St. Hippolytus's commentary on Daniel, a work now no longer extant, in which the calculation alluded to was found: of this he gives us the following account; Τὸ δὲ τὴν τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου παρουσίαν, καθ' ἣν καὶ ἡ τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ κόσμου τοῦδε συντέλεια ἴσταται, μηδὲ τοῖς μαθηταῖς δεομένοις τοῦ σωτῆρος ἀποκαλύψαντος. εἶτα αὐτὸν [Ἰππολύτον] ταύτην πεντακοσίους ἔτεσιν ἀπὸ χριστοῦ ὑπαχθέντα περιγράψασθαι, ὡσανεὶ τῶν ἀπὸ πρώτης τοῦ κόσμου καταβολῆς ἐξακισχιλίων ἐτῶν συντελουμένων, καὶ τὴν διάλυσιν αὐτοῦ ἐφεστάναι. Cod. ccii. p. 526. Photius however, who lived after the prophecy had been refuted by time, speaks of this calculation as of little value; τοῦτο, he says, καὶ θερμότερας ἂν εἴη τοῦ προσήκοντος γνώμης. καὶ ἡ ἀπόφασις ἀνθρωπίνης ἀγνοίας, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπιπνοίας τῆς ἄνωθεν

^{*} Allusions to this tradition are frequent in ancient authors. St. Jerome mentions it without disapprobation, Ep. ad Cyprian. cxl. (ed. Vallarsii.) n. 8, al. epist. cxxix. et Comm. in Michææ c. iv. St. Augustine notices it also Ep. cxcix. ad Hesychium, n. 17, 18. De civit. Dei. lib. xx. c. vii. n. 2; and Enarr. in Psal. lxxxix. n. 5, in which last place he says, "Et tamen ausi sunt homines præsumere scientiam temporum; quod scire cupientibus discipulis Dominus ait, *non est vestrum scire tempora, quæ Pater posuit in sua potestate*: et definierunt hoc sæculum sex annorum millibus, tanquam sex diebus, posse finiri. Nec attenderunt quod dictum est, *tanquam dies unus, qui præterit*; non enim quando dictum est soli mille anni præterierant. Et eos maxime debuit admonere, ne temporum luderentur incerto, quod est, *sicut vigilia in nocte*: neque enim, sicut de sex diebus aliquid verisimile videntur opinati propter sex dies primos quibus Deus perfecit opera sua; sic etiam sex vigilias, id est horas decem et octo, possunt illi opinationi coaptare." (Opp. tom. iv. 955, Ed. Bened.) See also St. Ambros. Expos. Evang. sec. Luc. lib. vii. n. 7. (Opp. tom. i. col. 1412, F. Ed. Bened.)

διελέγχει. A remark that would apply with equal justice to many more modern expositions of prophecy.

It appears, however, that in this calculation St. Hippolytus assumed the date of our Lord's Nativity to be about the year of the world 5500^y, from which it will follow, if six thousand years be the duration of this world, that the coming of Antichrist and the time of the end should have been in the year of our Lord, 500.

Other ancient writers appear to have taken the whole period of six thousand years as a day, and dividing it into twelve equal parts or hours (comp. John, xi. 9,) they concluded that "an hour" in prophetic language was 500 years. Hence, they interpreted St. John's words (1 John ii. 18,) "it is the last time," or "*hour*" (ἐσχάτη ὥρα,) as signifying that the last period of 500 years was begun in the apostolic age, and consequently that it would terminate with the fifth century. St. Augustin, in his letter to Hesychius, *De fine seculi*, (Epist. cxcix. n. 17, t. ii. p. 747,) notices this opinion; having quoted St. John's words *novissima hora est*, he says; "Quod nonnulli sic accipiunt, ut sex annorum millia constituent velut unum diem, eumque in partes velut horas duodecim partiantur, ut sic quingentos annos postremos hora videatur habere postrema: in quibus annis jam Joannes, inquit, loquebatur, quando novissimam horam esse dicebat^z."

Another ancient interpretation of prophecy gave birth to the opinion that the year 1000 was the predicted era of the revelation of Antichrist. Very many commentators ap-

^y In this chronological error Hippolytus was not singular; see Baronius; *Aparat. ad Annal. Eccles.* n. cxix. where abundant references are given to the opinions of ancient Christian writers on the date of the creation of the world.

^z See also St. Jerome in *Michææ* cap. iv. 1, and St. Hilary of Poitiers in *Matt.* c. xvii. n. 2. *Opp.* col. 293, and c. xx. n. 6, col. 708. Edit. Bened.

pear to have supposed that the binding of Satan, mentioned Rev. xx. 2, took place at our Lord's incarnation, or at least was the consequence of His crucifixion and the preaching of salvation by faith in His Name; and that the thousand years, during which the enemy of man is to remain bound, denoted the whole period from the foundation of the Church to the time of the end; the loosing of Satan for "a little season" (Rev. xx. 3, 7, 8,) at the end of the thousand years, being coincident with the reign of Antichrist, which is to be succeeded by the great day of judgment^a. (Rev. xx. 11—15.)

^a A specimen of this exposition will be seen in the following passage from Berengaud de Ferrieres, a writer probably of the ninth century, who is supposed to be author of the Commentary on the Apocalypse published with the works of S. Ambrose, (see Ceillier, *Hist. des auteurs Eccl.* tom. xix. p. 397, sq. tom. xxii. p. 67, sq. *Hist. Lit. de la France*, tom. v. p. 653, sq.) "Per annos autem mille omne tempus ab adventu Christi usque ad finem mundi debemus accipere. Religavit autem Christus diabolum, non vinculis corporeis, sed vinculis potestatis suæ immensæ, quia eum cordibus suorum expellens, ab eorum deceptione divina sua virtute exclusum tenet. . . . Tempus modicum, quo post mille annos solvendus esse dicitur, tempus Antichristi est." Opp. B. Ambrosii tom. ii. Append. col. 571. Ed. Bened. Par. 1690. And this exposition is as old at least as the fourth century; it is thus given by S. Ephraem Syrus, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ὅπως εἰδείχθη εἶναι ὁ διάβολος. . . . οὐκοῦν λύεται, ὅταν ἐλθῇ ἐν τῷ ἀντιχρίστῳ, κ.τ.λ. . . . περὶ γὰρ τῶν δύο παρουσιῶν εἴρηκεν, ἐν αἷς ὁ δράκων ποτὲ μὲν δεσμεῖται, ποτὲ δὲ λύεται· εἰδέθη ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ παρουσίᾳ, εἰπόντος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἰδοὺ δίδωκα ὑμῖν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πατεῖν ἐπάνω ὄφεων, καὶ σκορπίων, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ· ἐλύθη πάλιν πρὸς βραχὺ λέγοντος Παύλου· ἀνθ' ὧν οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ οἱ ἀσεβεῖς, πέμψει αὐτοῖς ὁ Θεὸς ἐνέργειαν πλάνης, κ.τ.λ. De Penitent. Opp. tom. iii. p. 191. Romæ. 1746. So also, St. Gregory the Great often speaks of Satan, in allusion to Rev. xx. 2, as now bound. See Moral. l. iv. c. 9, l. xviii. c. 42, and l. xix. c. 9; this last passage may be quoted as a specimen. "Nunc enim, sicut per Joannem dicitur, draco in abyssu clausus teneatur, quia diabolica malitia in eorum [hæreticorum scil.] subdolis cordibus occultatur." And l. xxxii. c. 15. "Cujus idcirco virtus nunc

Hence, as the year 1000 approached, it seems that some, taking the years as literal years, began to entertain apprehensions that the end was at hand, and the concurrence of the feast of the Annunciation with Good Friday, an

minime ostenditur, quia dispensatione divinæ fortitudinis ligatur. Unde per Joannem dicitur *Vidi Angelum, &c.*"

It will be seen that the advocates of this interpretation did not always take the thousand years as literal years. St. Augustine mentions two opinions on this point; first, that the reason why Satan is said to be bound for a thousand years, was because that event will take place in the last millenium of the world, "quia in ultimis annis mille ista res agitur, id est sexto annorum milliario tanquam sexto die, cujus nunc spatia posteriora volvuntur," and secondly, that the word *thousand* may be taken indefinitely for the whole remainder of time from the Passion of our Lord to the end of the world; "certe mille annos pro annis omnibus hujus seculi posuit, ut perfecto numero notaretur ipsa temporis plenitudo. Millenarius quippe numerus denarii numeri quadratum solidum reddit." De civit. l. xx. c. 7, n. 2. So also S. Gregory, "Millenario etenim numero non quantitatem temporis, sed universitatem qua regnat ecclesia, designavit." Moral. l. xviii. c. 42. See also l. xxxii. c. 15. The same exposition is given by Bede, Victorinus, Andreas, Aretas, S. Anselm, Rupert, and a great number of modern commentators. Cf. Malvenda de Antichristo, lib. x. c. 7, p. 489, sq. and Lacunza, or Ben Ezra, Venida del Messias, Part. I. ch. v. Art. 3.

But when those who lived near the close of the tenth century perceived that a thousand years from Christ were almost elapsed, such as dated the binding of Satan from the foundation of the Church, would naturally be led to take the years literally, and to fix upon the year 1000 as the æra of their fulfilment.

Glaber Rodolphus appears to have considered the prophecy of the loosing of Satan at the end of a thousand years, fulfilled by the number of heretics that appeared in Italy and Sardinia about A. D. 1000. "Plures etiam per Italiam tempore hujus pestiferi dogmatis reperti, quique ipsi, aut gladiis aut incendiis perierunt. Ex Sardinia quoque insula, quæ his plurimum abundare solet, ipso tempore aliqui egressi, partem populi in Hispania corrumpentes, et ipsi a viris Catholicis exterminati sunt. Quod præsagium Joannis prophetiæ congruit, quæ dixit Satanam solvendum expletis mille annis." Hist. lib. ii. cap. 12.

event which happened A. D. 992, was looked upon by the ignorant as a phenomenon which portended some great and momentous prophetic era. These facts we learn from the *Apologeticus* of Abbo of Fleuri, a work that must have been written soon after the year 995^b; the author there

^b In the year 995, Abbo, who had been about three years before made abbot of the Benedictines at Fleuri, assisted at a synod held in the Abbey of S. Denys near Paris, where certain proposals, for taking impropriate tithes from the monasteries and laymen, and transferring them to the bishops, were debated; Abbo took a decided part in favour of the monasteries, and against the bishops, until the dispute ran so high that the latter, fearing some bodily harm, fled with precipitancy from the place. Such is the account given by Aimoin in his life of Abbo. (Ap. Mabillon *Acta SS. O. S. B.* tom. viii. p. 39.) “In illis sane diebus, in monasterio Sancti Dionysii, haud procul a Parisiis, concilium aggregatum est quam plurimum Episcoporum: qui cum de fidei puritate, de corrigendis tam suis, quam subditorum pravis moribus sermocinari debuissent, juxta vulgare proverbium, cunctum suum sermonem ad decimas verterunt ecclesiarum: quas laicis, ac Deo servientibus monachis auferre moliti, resistente eis in hac re hoc venerabili Dei cultore Abbone, promiscuam in se vulgi concitavere manum: orta que subito seditione, tantus in Episcopos timor irruit, ut publica statione relicta, passim quisque diffugeret: inter quos Sewinus Senonum Archiepiscopus, primum Galliae in ea synodo sibi usurpans, primum quoque fuga arripuit: et inter fugiendum, securi inter scapular ictus, lutoque a popularibus oblitus, ægre evasit. Uni quoque Episcoporum timor fugienti tam veloces addidit alas, ut affluentissimo prandii apparatu, quem sibi exstruxerat, relicto, viciniae urbis Parisiorum mœnia fugitabundus expetereat.” Abbo was blamed as having encouraged, or given occasion for this violence, and wrote a defence of himself to the kings of France, Hugh Capet and his son Robert, under the title of *Apologeticus*. In this work he mentions several ecclesiastical abuses “quæ maxime sunt corrigenda in vestro imperio,” which he recommends the kings to bring before the bishops as fit subjects of consideration in their synods, and amongst the rest, he notices the opinion of the Parisian preacher about the end of the world, and the panic created at Lorraine about the conjunction of good Friday and Lady Day. The *Apologeticus* has been published by Pithou at the end of his collection of canons (*Cod. Can.* p. 395, *Ed. Par.* 1687,) and by

tells us, that when a young man he heard, at Paris, a sermon preached to the people on the end of the world, in which the preacher foretold the advent of Antichrist at the completion of a thousand years after Christ; that he opposed this opinion with all his might, and that he was afterwards employed by his abbot, Richard, to combat a similar error that had been propagated in Lorraine, and which was founded, as it would seem, on the expected conjunction of the Annunciation with Good Friday. “*De fine quoque mundi coram populo sermonem in ecclesia Parisiorum adolescentulus audivi, quod statim, finito mille annorum numero, Antichristus adveniret, et non longo post tempore generale judicium succederet. Cui prædicationi ex Evangelio et Apocalypsi et libro Danielis, qua potui virtute, restiti. Denique et errorem, qui de fine mundi inolevit, abbas meus beatæ memoriæ Richardus sagaci animo propulit, postquam literas a Lothariensibus accepit, quibus me respondere jussit. Nam fama per totum mundum impleverat, quod quando Annunciatio Dominica in parasceve contigisset, absque ullo scrupulo finis seculi esset.*”^c

Whether we are to interpret the words “*fama per totum mundum impleverat,*” in a manner strictly literal seems

Gallandius, *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xiv. p. 137. Abbo was killed at Reole, where he had gone to visit the monastery and to restore discipline; but the delinquent monks raised a tumult, in which they were joined by the townsmen, and the pious abbot received a wound from a spear, of which he died Nov. 13, 1004. See his life by Aimoin, his pupil, a monk of Fleuri, who was with him when he was killed, *Acta SS. O. S. B.*, tom. viii. p. 27, sq. and Mabillon. *Annal.* tom. iv. p. 178, n. 48, sq.

^c *Biblioth. Patrum* (Galland.) tom. xiv. p. 141. The Richard here mentioned was made Abbot of Fleuri in 962, and Abbo was dedicated by his parents in that monastery in 958. So that the errors alluded to in the foregoing extract are to be assigned to the latter half of the tenth century.

more than doubtful; Abbo probably meant only that the rumour was extensively propagated in the district of Lorraine, or perhaps throughout France; for the French to this day employ the phrase *tout le monde* in a similarly loose signification. However, it is to be remarked that it is not the opinion of the Parisian preacher, which our author tells us was thus widely credited, but the rumour derived from the approaching coincidence of the Annunciation with Good Friday. Mosheim^d therefore, and others have evi-

^d Mosheim. *Institt. Hist. Eccles. Sæc. x. part. ii. c. iii. § 3.* "Immensam in universo orbe Christiano superstitionem ubique viguisse, infinitis testimoniis et exemplis constat. Ad hanc autem accedebant opiniones multæ futes et vanæ, quas utilitatis suæ causa sacerdotes fovebant. Inter Latinorum, quæ hoc sæculum deformarunt et turbant, opiniones, nulla maiores motus ciebat, quam illa de imminente supremo terrarum orbis die: quæ superiori jam sæculo ex loco Johannis Apoc. xx. 3, 4, nata, et publice a multis proposita, hac ætate per universam Europam fundebatur et incredibilem populis terrorem injiciebat. Post decimam enim a CHRISTO nato annorum decadem decies repetitam cacodæmonem solutum iri, Antichristum venturum, et exitium orbis terrarum sequuturum esse, clare S. Johannem prædixisse, autumabant. Hinc innumerabiles, relictis bonis suis et ecclesiis aut Monachis traditis, in Palæstinam proficiscebantur, ubi Christum de cælo descensurum esse ad judicandum de humano genere putabant: Hinc alii semetipsos suaque omnia templis, claustris, sacerdotibus sacramento devovebant, quibus mancipiorum more serviebant et pensa quotidie persolvebant: Sperabant scilicet, fore, ut mitiorem haberent supremum Judicem, si servis ejus in servitutem sese dedissent: Hinc sole aut luna deficiente, plerique ad cavernas, rupes et antra confugiebant: Hinc plurimi magnam bonorum suorum partem Deo et cœlitibus, id est, sacerdotibus et Monachis donabant: Hinc multis in locis sacras et profanas ædes, quarum nullum in posterum usum fore putabant, collabi sinebant, immo ipsi diruebant. Oppugnabant quidem viri nonnulli sapientes communem hunc errorem: sed ante finem sæculi eradicari nullo modo poterat: atqui hoc sine magna calamitate præterito, intelligebant plerique, Johannem id non prædixisse, quod metuerant." Baronius has expressed himself in more exact agreement with his authority: "Incipit annus primus post millennium,

dently drawn a very exaggerated conclusion from the words of Abbo, when they tell us that the opinion founded on Rev. xx. 2, 4, had spread itself over *all Europe*, exciting immense terror and alarm among the people; and that many in consequence, transferring their property to the churches and monasteries, left all, and proceeded to Palestine, where they supposed that Christ would then descend from heaven to judge the world of mankind. But in the absence of any other proof of these assertions than the passage just quoted from Abbo's Apology, (and Mosheim quotes no other,) we may fairly doubt whether the panic there spoken of was of such wide extent; at least, there seem no grounds for representing the false calculation of the thousand years, as its immediate cause, when it must be obvious that Abbo assigns a different one. But it is especially unfair to represent this opinion as the occasion of the pilgrimages to Palestine. Many other causes besides the mistake about Rev. xx. were in existence, and had a far more influential operation in persuading the weak and superstitious that the day of judgment was then at hand^c. This persuasion may

indictione decima quarta notatus, idemque nonnullorum vana assertione prænuntiatus mundi postremus, vel ipsi propinquus: quo nimirum revelandus esset ille homo peccati, filius perditionis, dictus cognomine Antichristus. Fuerant ista in Galliis promulgata, ac primum prædicata Parisiis, jamque vulgata per orbem, credita a compluribus, accepta nimirum a simplicioribus cum timore, a doctioribus vero improbata." *Annal. ad an. 1001, n. 1.*

A large collection of authorities on the ancient opinions about the binding and loosing of Satan, foretold in Rev. xx., will be found in Archbp. Ussher's learned work, *De Christianar. ecclesiar. successionem et statu*; cap. i.—vi.

^c For example, the enormities perpetrated by the Huns or Turks in the ninth and tenth centuries, gave rise to the opinion that they were the Gog and Magog of prophecy, and therefore that the time of the end was at hand. Vido, or Wicfrid, Bishop of Verdun, appears to have consulted on this subject an abbot whose name is not preserved, nor yet

have operated, and no doubt it did with many operate, in inducing them to undertake the pilgrimage to Jerusalem; but the zeal for pilgrimage which prevailed to such an extent, not at the period of which Mosheim speaks only, but for some centuries both before and after, was excited, not immediately or primarily by any opinions derived from prophecy, but by the supposed merit of visiting the scenes of our Saviour's Passion, aided at the beginning of the eleventh century by the religious horror then universally felt at the devastation of the holy city by the Turks, the demolition of the Church of the Resurrection, and the profanation of the Holy Sepulchre under the Fatimite caliph Hakem, A. D. 1009¹. To this cause the chronicle

the name of his monastery, except that it was dedicated to S. Germain. The abbot's answer, however, has been published by D'Achery, *Spicil.* tom. iii. p. 368. He combats the opinion that the Hungarians were Gog and Magog, and contends that the prophecy is to be understood mystically, not of literal nations, but of the spiritual enemies of the Church. The letter is dated by D'Achery circ. A. D. 906. See also, Fleury, *Hist. Eccl.* liv. liv. s. 52.

¹ See Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, chap. lvii. vol. x. p. 379, sq. 8vo. edit. Lond. 1815. Glaber Rodolphus (*Hist. lib.* iii. cap. 7.) after describing the profanation of the holy sepulchre in 1009, under Hakem, whom he calls "King of Babylon," adds, "Tunc quoque de universo terrarum orbe incredibilis hominum multitudo exultanter Hierosolymam pergentes, domui Deo restaurandæ plurima detulerunt munera." See also, lib. iv. cap. 6. "De confluentia populi totius orbis quæ ad sepulchrum Domini Hierosolymis facta est."—A. D. 1033. "Les pèlerinages," says Fleury, "furent une suite de la vénération des lieux saints et des reliques, principalement avant l'usage de les transférer."—*Discours sur l'Hist. Eccl.* depuis l'an. 600 jusqu'à l'an. 1100, n. 5. The zeal of pilgrimage appears to have given rise to abuses, so early as the beginning of the ninth century; for the Council of Chalons-sur-Saône in the year 813, issued a canon to restrain them. "Sunt presbyteri," the Council complains, "et diacones et ceteri in clero constituti qui negligenter viventes, in eo purgari se a peccatis putant, et ministerio suo fungi debere, si præfata loca attingant. Sunt nihilo minus laici, qui putant

of Wilhelm Godell, a monk of Limoges, who flourished about 1150, expressly attributes the panic which he tells us prevailed in many places about the approach of the day of judgment; his words are, "Anno Domini, MIX. terra Jerosolimorum, permittente Deo, ab immundis Turcis invasa, et Jerusalem capta, et Christi Domini gloriosum sepulchrum ab eis possessum. . . . Anno Domini MX. in multis locis per orbem, *tali rumore audito*, timor et mœror corda plurimorum occupavit, et suspicati sunt multi finem seculi adesse; sanioris animi quique de vitæ suæ correctione attentius studuerunt salubri consilio utentes §."

These last words are worthy of notice because they serve to refute another assertion made by Mosheim, that the terror created by the supposition that the day of judgment was at hand, was encouraged by the clergy for purposes of gain. The contrary is evident from every document in which the superstition in question has been mentioned. The prophetess who appeared in 847, and predicted that that year would be the last of the world, although she asserted, perhaps to render her crime more venial, that she had acted at the suggestion of a certain priest, was nevertheless condemned by the bishops and clergy at Mayence, and publicly flogged through the city ^h. We have seen too, that Abbo and his superior Richard, men of the highest reputation in that age for learning and piety, exerted their influence to the utmost to discountenance such rumours ⁱ.

se impune aut peccare aut peccasse, quia hæc loca oraturi frequentant." Conc. Cabillon. II. c. 45.

§ Chron. Wilhelmi Godelli, ap. Bouquet. Recueil des Historiens. tom. x. p. 262.

^h See note ^u, p. 376, supra.

ⁱ Nor is Abbo a solitary instance of this. Adso, abbot of Montier-en-Der, at the request of Queen Gerberga, wife of Louis d'Outremer, wrote a treatise *De Antichristo*, the tendency of which is manifestly to counteract the opinion that the day of judgment was at hand. The date of the work is ascertained from internal evidence to have been

Nor should we neglect to notice the remarkable difference that may be observed between this class of superstitious or

between A. D. 948 and 954, (Mabillon. *Annal. O. S. B.* tom. iii. p. 594, n. 26. Ceillier, *Hist. des Auteurs Eccles.* tom. xix. p. 699, sq. Opp. S. August. ed. Bened. tom. vi. Append. p. 241.) And the author, in what he says of the time of Antichrist, argues from the apostacy (*discessio*) spoken of by St. Paul, 2 Thes. ii.—(which he explains to mean the dismemberment of the Roman empire,)—that the world was not yet prepared for the revelation of the wicked one; his words are: “Inde ergo dicit apostolus Paulus, Antichristum non antea in mundum esse venturum, nisi venerit primum *discessio*; hoc est, nisi discesserint omnia regna a Romano imperio, cui prius subdita erant. Hoc autem tempus nondum advenit; quia licet videamus Romanum imperium ex maxima parte jam destructum, tamen quamdiu reges Francorum duraverint, qui Romanum imperium tenere debent, Romani dignitas ex toto non peribit; quia in regibus suis stabit.” Then follows a curious passage, which if it had caught the eye of any of the writers who laboured to expound these prophecies of Buonaparte, would doubtless have been made to occupy a prominent place among their authorities. “Quidam vero doctores nostri dicunt, quod unus ex regibus Francorum Romanum imperium ex integro tenebit, qui in novissimo tempore erit, et ipse erit maximus, et omnium regum ultimus: qui postquam regnum suum feliciter gubernaverit, ad ultimum Ierosolymam veniet, et in monte Oliveti sceptrum et coronam suam deponet: hic erit finis et consummatio Romanorum Christianorumque imperii: statimque, secundum sententiam prædictam apostoli Pauli, Antichristum dicunt adfuturum.” August. Opp. ubi supr. p. 243. The author asserts also, that Enoch and Elias, the witnesses mentioned Rev. xi. must first come, before Antichrist can be revealed, and he concludes thus: “Debetis autem scire quia postquam fuerit Antichristus occisus, non statim erit dies judicii, nec statim veniet Dominus ad judicium; sed expectabit Dominus quosdam, sicut ex libro Danielis intelleximus, qui seducti sunt, ut ad pœnitentiam revertantur. Postquam vero pœnitentiam expleverint; quantum temporis sit quousque Dominus veniat, nemo est qui sciat, sed in dispositione Dei manet: quia ea hora sæculum judicabit, qua ante sæcula judicandum esse præfixit.” Ibid. p. 244. Strype has printed an old English version of Adso's treatise, without knowing what it was. (*Memorials*, vol. i. part. 2, Appendix, No. xlv.) He calls it “a MS. writ by some Papist (about this time [1533] as I guess) treating about Antichrist.” (*Ib.* part I. p. 164.)

fanatical opinions, and the doctrine derived from the many passages of Scripture in which the last time and the day of

Another instance of the efforts made by the clergy to counteract this superstition is recorded in the *Gesta Episcoporum Leodiensium*, published by Martene and Durand. It seems that an eclipse of the sun, which took place in the middle of the tenth century, was so total in Calabria, where the army of the Emperor Otho I. was then encamped, that the stars appeared not long after noon, the birds went to roost, and the cattle retired to rest. "Unde," says the chronicler, "nostrates qui ibidem forte tunc aderant, incredibili pavore perterriti, nihil aliud quam diem iudicii putant imminere; et valida armatorum manus, quæ multas urbes egregiis viribus excidisset, multosque rebellantium populos ferro perdomuisset, hanc alienam rutilantibus stellis noctem in tantum expavit, ut incredibili anxietate diversas quasi tutandæ vitæ exquireret latebras. Sic alii vasis vinariis, alii cistis, alii sub carris turpiter sese recondunt: quisque pro lucro reputat, si quod pro hac inusitata nocte sibi reperiri queat latibulum." Everacius, Bishop of Liege, who was then in the army of Otho, immediately exerted himself to refute the error of the soldiers, and went amongst them exhorting them to take courage, and assuring them that they should soon again see the sun shine forth. "Sicque ut in suis quisque castris, non parvo, ceu putabant, lethi discrimine, latitabant, singulos ipse circuiens ignaviæ accusare, innatæ virtutis ammonere studebat, arguens probrose satis; cur hi, &c." (Mart. et Durand. Ampl. Coll. tom. iv. col. 860, 861.) Nothing, therefore, can be more unjust than Mosheim's insinuation, in which he has been eagerly followed by modern writers, (see for example, Waddington's Hist. of the Church, chap. xv. p. 261, and Gieseler, Period. III. Div. ii. §. 27,) that the clergy encouraged these errors for the sake of gain; the clergy of that period have much to answer for, but there is no proof that this was one of their sins. Besides the passage above quoted from Abbo, which proves the very opposite, Mosheim mentions only the supposed fact, that in almost all the charters of donation granted to the Church in the tenth century, the clause *appropinquante mundi termino* occurs as the reason assigned for the gift; but this clause is not by any means peculiar to the charters of that period, and therefore does not necessarily imply the existence of any peculiar panic at that time as to the approach of Antichrist and the day of judgment. The charter for example given to St. Aldhelm by Leutherius, Bishop of the West Saxons in the seventh century, A. D.

Christ are spoken of as ready to be revealed. The latter, we have seen, was maintained and put forward in all ages by the most eminent saints and fathers of the Christian Church, both of the East and West; the former were mere rumours, derived from the local causes, or political commotions, received by the vulgar and superstitious only, and opposed by every writer of eminence and learning ¹.

But it would carry us too far from our immediate object, were I to attempt a more complete examination of the exaggerated statements of modern writers on this subject. The efforts unhappily made by authors of name and influence to press history into the service of controversy, have occasioned so much misapprehension, and so many misstatements of facts, that nothing short of the induction of particulars I have given, seemed sufficient for disentangling the subject from the confusion with which it has been surrounded. It is now, I trust, made evident that an expectation of the near approach of Antichrist, and of the end of the world, was by no means peculiar to the twelfth century;

675, for erecting a monastery at Malmsbury, contains this clause, "Ita nimirum prostrata mundi pomulenta gloria, jamque propinquante ejus termino, &c." (Vita S. Aldhelmi, ap. Wharton Angl. Sacr. vol. ii. p. 9.) Neither is it true, so far as I can find, that this clause occurs more frequently in the charters of the tenth century than in those of any other period, although this has been asserted by the high authority of the Benedictine authors of the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatie*, (tom. iv. p. 581,) at least, I have examined a great number of the charters of that period without having been able to find in one of them the clause in question; and it is to be observed that the statements of Mosheim and of the authors of the *Nouveau Traité* are made in general terms, without quoting so much as a single instance. See what Mabillon has said (Annal. Bened. tom. ii. p. 672, 3,) in refutation of the assertion that the wealth of the monasteries originated in the panic created by prophecies about the end of the world.

¹ For other references and authorities see Mabillon's note on St. Bernard's fifty-sixth Epistle. Opp. S. Bernardi, tom. i.

and consequently that the “fama πρόδρομος oraculi implendi,” upon which Mede relies as indicating the existence of an opinion that the prophecy was then beginning to be unsealed, proves nothing for his purpose, unless it can be shewn to have originated in an interpretation of the days of Daniel similar to that for which he contends.

Let us examine therefore, with this view, the examples he has given, and we shall find, I think, that they are not essentially different from the cases we have been considering, and that it is altogether unreasonable to quote them as instances of the unsealing of prophecy.

The example most relied upon is that of the Bishop of Florence, who, in or about the year 1104, or 5, maintained that Antichrist was even then born; and it seems, that Pope Paschal II., having at the time been passing through Florence, summoned a synod to consider of the matter, but finding that the author of the rumour could give no solid reasons for his opinion, the doctrine was condemned, and silence imposed upon its propagators.

To this Mede has added the opinion of St. Norbert, Archbishop of Magdeburgh, one of the most eminent men of that age, founder of the Premonstratensian order, and since elevated to the rank of a saint in the Roman calendar*. Of him, we are told by St. Bernard, his friend and cotemporary, that he was wont to say that Antichrist would assuredly be revealed in that generation—“durante ea

* For the history of St. Norbert, see *Acta Sanctor. Junii* t. i. p. 809, Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres Monast.* t. ii. 164, and *Brev. Roman.* ad Jun. vi. Perhaps nothing can shew more forcibly the carelessness, if not the gross ignorance of the class of writers who have laboured to establish the application of the prophecies of Antichrist to the Papal communion, than to find Bishop Hurd speaking of such a man as Norbert thus: “He [St. Bernard] tells us in his 56th epistle, that he had heard *one Norbert*, a man of exemplary piety, say, that Antichrist would be revealed in that age.” *Introd. Serm. vii.* note [s.]

quæ nunc est generatione revelandum illum [Antichristum] esse, certissime se scire protestatus est ¹."

From these facts Mede conjectures, that the opinion of the near approach of Antichrist was founded on a calculation, similar to his own, that the periods of 1260 and 1335 days, or rather years, were about to terminate in the twelfth century; and as the former of these periods, on such an hypothesis, would end about the year 1123, therefore, he conceives, the Florentine bishop supposed Antichrist to have been *born* at the beginning of the century, allowing him about twenty years to come to maturity. "Omnino existimo," he says "*famam hanc* eo præcipue subnixam fundamento, quod vidissent calculum Danielis pro annis computatum tum propemodum elapsum fuisse. Cum igitur Episcopus iste Fluentinus seu Florentinus priorem periodum forte observasset intra vicennium aut circiter evolutam iri, porro putaret Antichristum non nisi ætate jam matura revelandum, et adultum ad bellum contra sanctos proditurum, ideo eum affirmavit *jam tum natum esse*, minime vero (ut perperam Centuriatores acceperunt) *jam tum* in ecclesia dominari ^m."

This however, is a mere conjecture, without a shadow of support from the original authorities; which are not only altogether silent as to calculations having been made from the days of Daniel, but expressly indicate the contrary. Thus in the case of the Florentine bishop, the first authority cited by Mede is an extract, not as he erroneously states, from "Urspergensis," but from the life of Paschal II., quoted by Baronius, an. 1006, n. 25 ⁿ. In it there is

¹ Bernard. Epist. 56.

^m Revel. Antichristi; Works, p. 721.

ⁿ Mede says, "Anno 1106 (inquit Urspergensis apud Baronium) Paschalis papa ordinavit profectionem, &c." Baronius, however, does not quote the abbot Conrad in the place referred to; his reference is "Hæc acta vitæ ipsius," scil. Paschalis. Mede's error would not be

no allusion to the grounds upon which the rumour was founded ; it tells us only that while the Pope was on his road into France, he passed through Florence, and hearing it reported that Antichrist was at hand, he stopped to inquire into the matter, but perceiving the rumour to be without foundation, pursued his journey. “ Dum in itinere positus Florentiam pervenisset, de adventu Antichristi proximo futuro sparsam famam inveniens, Florentiæ substitit ; cum vero audisset quæ ferrentur, ut nullius fidei et auctoritatis, assertionem contempsit, et cœptum iter est prosecutus.” This, according to Baronius, was in the year 1106.

The next authority tells the same story in a somewhat different form. Here we read that the author of the rumour was no less a personage than the Bishop of Florence ; that the particular doctrine preached was, that Antichrist was already born, and that the alleged grounds of this opinion were certain unusual phænomena, such as high tides, and especially the appearance of an enormous comet. It is added that Paschal held a synod at Florence to inquire into the matter, and finding that the bishop had no sufficient arguments to produce, he admonished him, and enjoined him silence. “ Prodigia per id tempus aliquot apparuerunt ; mare vicinis passibus ; alii centenis scribunt ; præter solitum littora inundavit : apparuit et cometes miræ magnitudinis. His fortasse prodigiis motus affirmare non dubitavit Fludentinus antistes esse Antichristum natum : qua predicatione Paschalis motus in Hetruriam profectus, conventuque super ea re Florentiæ habito, quum appareret hominem nulla alia ratione subnixum quam ut alicujus magnæ rei author videretur, ejusmodi predicatione usum : tantum admonuit : ut temerario incœpto desisteret.” Sabellicus, *Ennead. ix. lib. iv. fol. 228.* (ib. *Ascens. 1517.*)

worth notice except as an indication of the carelessness about authorities which characterizes this whole school of interpreters, and as a proof that our author in this instance looked no further than Baronius.

Platina, the next authority, gives very much the same account. After noticing the high tides and the comet, he says, “Non movebatur his prodigiis Paschalis, quippe qui fieri hæc natura cernebat. Verùm cùm intellexisset Florentinum Episcopum affirmare solitum Antichristum natum esse, eò statim proficiscitur, concilioque habito re ipsa admodum discussa, cum levitate quadam, ut alicujus magnæ rei auctor videretur, motum episcopum cerneret, hominem verbis castigatum dimittit, atque inde in Cisalpinam proficiscitur.” *De vita Pontif. (sub Paschal. II.)* p.118.4to. Colon. Agripp. 1610.

These are the only authorities to which Mede makes any reference °, and it must be obvious to every unprejudiced

° Petrus Pisanus, (or as Muratori and others call him Pandulphus Pisanus,) a cotemporary author, in his life of Pope Paschal II. makes no mention of the censure passed upon the bishop in the synod of Florence, but tells us, on the contrary, that so great was the concourse of people who flocked to hear the subject discussed, that the synod was forced to separate without coming to any decision. “Hostibus ecclesiæ sic exterritis, et urbe sedata ex parte, eo anno Dominus Papa in Tusciam apud Florentiam concilium celebravit; in quo cum episcopo loci de Antichristo, quia eum natum dicebat, satis disputatum est: sed ob frequentiam populi, qui ob rei novitatem audiendam hinc inde confertim tumultimque confluerant, nec concilium finem, nec disputatio deliberationem habuit.” (Bolland. Propyl. ad Acta SS. Maii. Conat. Hist. Chronol. p. 203; also Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script.* tom. iii. p. 354.) This, from the date and opportunities of the author, is perhaps the correct version of the story; other particulars seem to have been added by subsequent writers as supplying what they thought probable, or becoming in the parties concerned to have done. Antoninus says that the council convoked on this occasion was a *general* council consisting of 340 bishops, which may perhaps be true, although we may doubt how far it was *general*. (Chron. tit. xvii. cap. 1, tom. ii. p. 680, Lugd. 1587.) Others tell us (Labbe et Cossart. *Concil.* tom. x. p. 743.) that the name of the condemned bishop was *Fluentius*. This however is a manifest blunder; for Florence was sometimes called *Fluentia*; and Fluentius, originally perhaps a cleri-

reader that they contain nothing from which it can with fairness be inferred that the Florentine prelate took days

cal mistake for Fluentinus, is the same as Florentinus. The Italia Sacra gives Raynerius as the name of the prelate who then held the See of Florence; "Raynerius, cives Florentinus subiectus est anno 1071, vir utique doctissimus, multæque existimationis, sed quem peculiare aliquando opiniones transversum agerent. Siquidem Raynerius in illis fuit, qui credebant mundum brevi desitutum, jamque Antichristum fuisse natum, quod prodigiis, bellisque, atque scelere magnitudine colligebat, quibus tunc orbis universus laborare videbatur. Qua ipse doctrina non modo populum Florentinum deteruit, sed scriptis etiam literis per alias civitates spargendam curavit. Quamobrem temeritatis reprehensus est a Paschale II. sub quo vult Borgleinus Florentiæ celebratum fuisse generale concilium anno 1104. Genebrardus vero, et Coriolanus in Brev. chronolog. ex Sabel. anno 1105, præside Paschali, una cum 340 episcopis contra illius loci episcopum, quem male Fluentium vocant." Ughelli, Ital. Sacr. tom. iii. col. 77. It is remarkable, although I know not whether the fact will throw any additional light on the story, that Ragingerus or Raynerius, was also the family name of Pope Paschal II.

Of modern versions of the story, especially as it has been dressed up by the authors who use it to prove the Pope to be Antichrist, it is hardly necessary to say much. The Magdeburgh Centuriators set it down as a fact of which no doubt can be entertained, that the Florentine bishop was led to believe Antichrist already born, from observing the corrupt state of the Church, and that he had therefore anticipated the modern doctrine, that the Pope was Antichrist. "Florentinus episcopus" (they tell us) "audebat palam asserere Antichristum jam natum esse: idque *haud dubie* animadvertit ex illa horribili metamorphosi regni Christi spiritualis in mundanum;" and yet they acknowledge a little after, that of the arguments of the bishop no record is preserved. "Silentium autem de argumentis ipsius altum est." (Cent. xii. cap. 9.) Mede confesses that this theory is without foundation; "Nondum enim" (he says) "Romanum Pontificem esse magnum illum et *scriptis* dictum Antichristum vel Florentinus antistes, vel alii suspicati sunt; sed alium triennem et semestrem expectabant." (Works, p. 721.) But if it be permitted to add conjecture to history, to suit a favourite hypothesis, why should not the Centuriators be allowed the privilege, which Mede was then himself assuming; if neither the Bishop of Florence nor any body else at that period, expected Antichrist to tri-

for years, or made any use whatsoever of Daniel's prophetic periods. If any conclusion may be drawn as to the grounds upon which he rested his doctrine, it can only be, that he conceived the comet to have denoted the birth of Antichrist, as the star, seen by the Magi, indicated the birth of Christ^p.

Nor is the case of St. Norbert, (the only other instance of an expectation of Antichrist relied on by Mede,) much more in point. His opinion is mentioned by St. Bernard in a letter written about the year 1123, to Godfrey, Bishop of Chartres, who it seems had inquired whether Norbert was about to undertake the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. To this St. Bernard answered that he did not know; that he had been with Norbert a few days before, who had not expressed any such intention. But that in conversing about

umph more than three years and an-half, that is to say, if nobody then dreamt of interpreting the 1260 days as years, what becomes of Mede's assertion that they considered the days of Daniel as years? And if Mede might take this point for granted, why might not the Centuriators assume, that by Antichrist the Florentine prelate meant the pope?

Mr. Maitland has noticed some other inconsistencies in the use made of this story by Mr. Faber, and other expositors of the same school, First Enquiry, p. 51, 2nd Edit. I shall therefore only add here, that Fox, in his Martyrology, gives the story as told by Sabellius, with only one addition of his own, (viz. that the Pope not merely "put to silence the said bishop," but also "*condemned his books*;") but in his margin he notes "The bishop of Fluence a martyr;" (vol. i. p. 254, col. 2, Edit. 1632;) and in the general index at the end of the third volume we read, "The Bishop of Fluence preaching against Antichrist, *dieth a martyr*." How far Fox is responsible for his marginal summaries and index I do not know; I notice this martyring of the bishop only as an example of the way in which such stories are improved by willing hands.

^p Mede himself has suggested this analogy; "Præterea cometa appareret et alia prodigia humanis mentibus commovendis nata: Forte enim natum putaverint Antichristum eo temporis momento quo cometa apparuisset: sicut Magi Christum apparente stella." Works, p. 721.

Antichrist, Norbert had declared that he knew to a certainty that Antichrist was to be revealed in that generation. St. Bernard, however, adds that he himself was not satisfied with the reasons given by Norbert for this persuasion, which seem to have amounted merely to this, that he believed a general persecution of the Church to be at hand. The whole passage is as follows, “ Quod a me de domino Norberto sciscitamina, si videlicet iturus sit Jerosolymam, ego nescio. Nam cum ante hos paucos dies ejus faciem videre, et de cœlesti fistula, ore videlicet ipsius, plurima haurire meruerim; hoc tamen ab ipso non audiui. Verum de Antichristo cum inquirerem quid sentiret, durante ea quæ nunc est generatione revelandum illum esse se certissime scire protestatus est. At cum eandem certitudinem unde haberet, sciscitanti mihi exponere vellet; audito quod respondit, non me illud pro certo credere debere putavi. Ad summam tamen hoc asseruit non visurum se mortem, nisi prius videat generalem in Ecclesia persecutionem¹. ”

Now, here we find no mention made of Norbert's arguments, except that they appeared to his friend and admirer Bernard, as weak and unsatisfactory; and that they resolved themselves into the opinion that a general persecution was near at hand. Had Norbert started a theory similar to that for which Mede contends, a theory withal so ingenious, and which to many has appeared so plausible, is it likely that St. Bernard would have passed it over in the almost contemptuous language he has employed?

Be this, however, as it may, there is evidently nothing in the original authorities, to justify Mede's assumption that these expectations of the approach of Antichrist were founded on the supposition of days meaning years, or that they

¹ Opp. S. Bernardi ed. Mabillon. Epist. 56, ad Gaufridum Carnotensem episcopum. Tom. i. p. 59.

had any connexion whatsoever with the 1290 and 1335 days of Daniel. And the only reason that Mede has given to excuse so very bold an assumption, is this, that about the year 1390, Walter Brute did take the 1260 days as years, and therefore it is possible that others might have done the same before him? "*Quidni credam idem aliis, longe ante Brutum natum, in mentem venire potuisse*?" Doubtless there is no reason why such a theory might not have occurred to others before Walter Brute was born; but are we justified in assuming that it actually did occur to others, although no reason whatsoever has been given for such an assumption, except the bare possibility of the thing? Let the possibility, however, be converted into certainty, and it will still remain to be proved, that the days were interpreted as years in the twelfth century, and that such an interpretation was the basis of the opinions maintained by the Bishop of Florence, and by St. Norbert^s.

2. So much then for the assertion that the accomplishment of the periods of 1290 and 1335 days was expected by many at the commencement of the twelfth century. Let us now inquire whether our author's next position, that the prophecy was fulfilled by certain events which took place A. D. 1120—1125, and A. D. 1166—1171, is capable of any better proof.

^r Mede, Works, p. 721.

^s The opinions of Walter Brute upon this subject are contained in his declarations given in to the Bishop of Hereford, about the year 1390, and published by Fox in his *Acts and Monuments*, vol. i. p. 545, sq. (Lond. fol. 1684.) His theory was, that the 1290 days were to be computed from the time when "the abomination, that is the idol of desolation was placed of Adrian, in the last destruction of Jerusalem, in the holy place, that is to say, in a place of the Temple." From this he concludes that the 1290 years were about to terminate in his own times. "And from that time hitherto have passed near about 1290 days, taking a day for a year, as Daniel takes it in his prophecies, and other prophets likewise."

And first, with respect to the former of these periods, Mede's theory is, that between the years 1120 and 1125, which correspond to the termination of the 1290 day-years, the doctrine was first put forward publicly that Antichrist is not to be an individual man, but a state of men, namely, the papal power, or the corrupt state of religion in the Western Church; and that therefore the true followers of Christ were bound to separate from the communion of the visible Church, as from the synagogue of Satan. "Atque hoc," says our author[†], "fuit secessionis piorum a Romana ecclesia initium; neque ante hoc tempus quicquam ex omni Christianorum memoria auditum fuisse crediderim, de Papatu magno illo et *κρίως* dicto Antichristo, neque alium expectandum esse."

His proof of this assertion rests altogether upon the supposed fact, that in the year 1120 a treatise *De Antichristo* was published by the Vaudois, in which the doctrine that the prophecies about Antichrist were already fulfilled in the corruptions of religion, was clearly and unequivocally maintained. "Anno Domini 1120, Indictione Rom. LIV. post biennium ineunte, quorundam fidelium nomine emissus est Tractatus *de Antichristo*, annum quo primum in lumen prodiit quasi de industria in fronte proferens, hisce verbis, *Qual cosa sia l'Antichrist, en datte de l'an mille cent et vigint; una cum symbolo tali, Sicut fumus præcedit ignem, victoriam pugna, sic et gloriam Christi tentatio Antichristi*[‡]."

In reply to this argument, it might be enough to say, that the date assigned to the treatise on Antichrist is a mere fiction, so utterly incapable of proof, that even Mr. Faber, with all his zeal for Waldensian antiquity, has now abandoned it as untenable[‡]. The very assertion that the Wal-

[†] Works, p. 722.

[‡] Ibid. p. 721.

[‡] Inquiry into the History and Theology of the ancient Vallenses and Albigenses. 8vo. Lond. 1838, p. 372, sq.

denses, were not only in existence in the year 1120, but at that time so far a distinct religious communion, as to put forth a treatise for the express purpose of exhorting men to forsake the Church of Rome, and come over to them, is of itself sufficient to convince every one who is at all acquainted with the ecclesiastical history of the times, that there must be some mistake, either as to the authors or the date of the treatise.

But before I proceed to shew that the date at least is erroneous, for it is with the date only that we are at present concerned, it may be well to notice a misrepresentation of fact, unintentional I have no doubt, but still of some importance, of which Mede has been guilty in the passage quoted. His words imply that the date 1120 is an integral part of the Treatise; and he seems to think it a matter of no small moment in reference to the fulfilment of the prophecy, that the date is thus prominently put forward in the very title of the work, "*Qual cosa sia l'Antichrist, en datte de l'an mille cent et vigint*;" these last words however, "*en datte de l'an mille cent et vingt*," [not *vigint*,] do not belong to the title, but are the words of Perrin, expressing only the opinion of that historian that the tract was written in 1120. Mede's mistake, as I have said, was probably unintentional *; because in Perrin's "*Histoire des Vaudois*," printed at Geneva in 1618, the Italics are so managed as to give the impression that the whole passage formed the initial sentence of the book. "Item, un livre intitulé l'Ante-

* I wish to guard against being supposed to charge Mede with anything like *fraud*, of which I believe him to have been incapable; but his carelessness, and the little pains he took to inquire into the authorities for the supposed facts upon which he built his system, can hardly be too strongly reprobated. Indefensible misquotations and erroneously cited authorities have done more to weaken the otherwise impregnable cause of the Reformation, than the arguments of its most learned and zealous foes.

christ, lequel commence ainsi, *Qual cosa sia l'Antechrist, en datte de l'an mille cent et vingt*^x." That this however is not the case, appears from the treatise itself, which is published in Perrin's *Hist. des Albigeois* (Part II. livre. iii. p. 253,) and does not exhibit any date. Hence, Leger (*Hist. generale des Eglises Vaudoises*, fol. Leyde, 1669, p. 24,) quoting the foregoing passage from Perrin, prints it correctly thus, "Item, un Livre intitulé *l'Ante-Christ*, lequel commence ainsi, *Qual cosa sia l'Ante-Christ*, en datte de l'an mil cent et vingt." Thus, it appears that Mede's assertion about this treatise bearing its date on its front, "*quasi de industria in fronte præferens*," is a mere mistake.

Our next inquiry therefore, must be into the grounds, upon which the date of 1120 was assigned to the treatise; for although the work does not expressly assert itself to have been composed in that year, still its original editor may have had some good reasons for ascribing to it a date so specific. Here, however, we are left altogether in the dark. Perrin, who first published the book, and from whom all subsequent editors of it have copied, tells us nothing of the age or character of the MS. from which he printed; but merely asserts that the treatise (not the MS. of it) was "en datte de l'an 1120." In a marginal note at the commencement of it, he says, "Ce livre de l'Antechrist se trouve en un livre vieux escrit a la main, auquel sont contenus plusieurs sermons des Barbes, en datte de l'an 1120, et partant escrit avant Valdo, et environ le temps de Pierre Bruis qui enseignoit en Languedoc, ou il fut bruslé a S. Giles avant que Valdo sortist de Lion. Et depuis ce traité a esté conservé parmi les Vaudois des Alpes, desquels nous l'avons eu avec plusieurs autres^y." This is all the

^x Part I. ch. vii. p. 57.

^y *Hist. des Albigeois*, Part III. livre iii. p. 253.

information he has thought fit to give us, although we might fairly have expected something beyond a bare assertion in evidence of a fact, upon which he seeks to build so important a contradiction to all other extant historical records, as the existence of the Vaudois before Peter Waldo.

Mr. Faber gives the following account of the way in which the year 1120 came to be fixed upon as the date of the treatise; speaking of another work, the Waldensian Confession of Faith, he says, "It was packed with sundry other documents of less moment," [and amongst the rest the Treatise on Antichrist,] "in one parcel; to the envelope of which the collector had affixed the general date of the year 1120; a circumstance, which itself shews, that *all* at least of the documents, unless the doctrine of chances be a fable, could not have belonged to that *precise* year. I do not suppose, indeed, that there was any intentional imposition on the part of him who affixed the date: but the action must, I think, be viewed, as purely arbitrary, and as altogether unauthoritative *."

* Inquiry into the History, &c. of the Vallenses and Albigenses, p. 370. I know not on what authority Mr. Faber has given this circumstantial account of the packing of these documents in one parcel, and the endorsing the envelope with the general date of 1120. Neither Morland, Perrin, or Leger, so far as I can find, have furnished any such particulars; and yet Mr. Faber speaks too positively to warrant our assuming that he had no other authority for the statement than a mere conjecture of his own. He takes for granted, also, that the person who collected these documents into one parcel, and endorsed them with the date 1120, was guided in his selection by mere chance; but this is surely not a necessary supposition; "the doctrine of chances" may be as far removed from a fable, as its warmest admirers can desire, and yet the author of the date on the envelope might have been influenced by the similarity of style and dialect, which undoubtedly exists in these documents, by a mistake as to the age of the MSS. and by many other considerations besides mere chance. But all this would probably have been cleared up, if Mr. Faber had not omitted to note his authority for the story.

I am equally at a loss for the authority upon which the same writer

The precise date therefore of the year 1120 is abandoned as untenable; and if we look back to the very vague account of the Treatise, which has been given by the older advocates of its antiquity, we shall see that Mr. Faber had good grounds for even greater scepticism than he has expressed. When Perrin first published the work, he represented it, in his Table of Contents, as consisting of four

has asserted, (loc. cit.) that the Confession of Faith and the Catechism, together with the Treatise of Antichrist, were among the MSS. deposited by Sir Samuel Morland in the University Library at Cambridge. Certain it is, that in Morland's Catalogue of those MSS. published by himself, and inserted immediately after the table of contents, and also in Book I. chap. vi. of his History of the Churches of Piedmont, not one of the above mentioned documents is described. With respect to the treatise on Antichrist, in which we are more immediately concerned, Morland does no more than translate Perrin's account of it, adding, that, since the time of Peter de Bruis, "this treatise hath been preserved among the Waldenses of the Alpes, of whom Mr. Paul Perrin procured the same, together with many others." p. 142. Here he could hardly have failed to have mentioned that he had himself subsequently obtained possession of the original, and deposited it in the library at Cambridge, if such had been the fact. Mr. Gilly also speaks of the MS. of the Treatise on Antichrist as being now at Cambridge. "In the library of the University of Cambridge," he says, "there is an old manuscript of the date 1100, which speaks of the Vaudois by name. There is also another at Cambridge, dated 1120, forty years anterior to any mention of Waldo, containing several sermons of the pastors of the Vaudois or Valdenses of the Alpine valleys, and a treatise on Antichrist, in which there is the following passage." (Narrative of an excursion to the Mountains of Piedmont, p. 22.) Although I felt little doubt that this was a mistake, yet I availed myself of the kindness of a learned friend, a distinguished member of the University of Cambridge, to make inquiry after the MS., and I received from him the following reply: "I can find no traces of any such tract in the possession of the University; and yet we have a pretty good catalogue of our MSS. drawn up by Nasmith, the editor of Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*, and the compiler of the catalogue of our Corpus Christi MSS.: where again, I may say, I find no mention of any Treatise on Antichrist."

chapters, of which the first was *De l'Antechrist*, the second *Du Purgatoire*, the third *De l'Invocation des Saints*, and the fourth *Du Baptisme et des autres Sacramens de l'Eglise Romaine*^a. Leger also speaks of the tract on purgatory as one "qui se trouve dans le même Livre de l'Anti-Christ; datté de l'an 1126^b," a typographical error, I presume, for 1120. He also describes the treatise on Invocation of the Saints, as occurring "dans le vieus manuscript sus-nommé, et datté de l'an 1120^c."

But Perrin, in the list of books "receuillis dans la vallée de Pragela," which he says were sent him as proofs for his history,—“m'ayant esté remis pour fournir des preuves en ceste histoire,”—mentions a volume "intitulé Livre des Vertus," in which, among other tracts, are the following, "Un traitté intitulé *del Purgatori soima*. C'est à dire, Du Purgatoire songé, on inventé. Et un traitté contre l'invocation des saints^d." Hence it is probable that these treatises have no connexion, properly speaking, with the treatise on Antichrist, and that Leger, when he spoke of them as contained in the same volume^e, was misled by Perrin's

^a Perrin, Vaudois; Sommaires des Chapitres, last page.

^b Leger, p. 83.

^c Ibid. p. 87.

^d Perrin, Vaudois, p. 58. There is a volume now preserved amongst Archbishop Ussher's MSS. in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, (Class C. Tab. 5, No. 22,) which contains all the tracts mentioned in Perrin's account of the contents of his MS. and in the same order. The first tract in the volume is entitled *Liber vertutum*, and begins, "No es iusta cosa efort^t. consonivol enclinar las aurellas per las iustas preye'as alaraçon." The MS. is on paper, consisting of 389 leaves, (exclusive of nine leaves containing the calendar of the Church at the beginning;) size, 5½ inches by 4; written in the early part of the 16th century. The treatises on Purgatory and Invocation of the Saints, as published by Perrin and Morland, occur at fol. 373 and fol. 378.

^e This mistake might have been corrected from Perrin himself, who, in the brief notice he gives of the volume in which he found the tract on Antichrist, tells us only that it contained, besides that work, some sermons of the Barbes, and a treatise on sin—"Item, un livre intitulé

having represented them as different chapters of one and the same work. Sir Samuel Morland mentions the tract on Purgatory as distinct from that on Antichrist, but asserts that they were written much about the same time ; of this assertion, however, although he employs it as evidence to the antiquity of the Vaudois, he has given no proof. His words are, “and this [the antiquity of the Vaudois] is evident by divers very ancient manuscripts, long since laid up and preserved in the valley of *Pragela*, which do directly strike at and oppose the errors of the *Church of Rome*. Among these manuscripts there are three very considerable : the first is intituled, *Qual cosa sia Antichrist?* that is to say, *what thing is Antichrist?* which was written in the year 1120. The second was written (as is supposed) much about the same time, intituled *Purgatori Soima*, that is to say, *The Dream of Purgatory*. The third is as ancient as the other two, and intituled, *La causa del nostre departiment de la Gleisa Romana*, that is to say, *the cause of our separation from the Church of Rome* ^f.” These remarks are followed by the attestation of Mr. Thomas Tronchin, “the chief minister of Geneva,” who testifies only to having seen and perused “divers original manuscripts,” shewn him by “Sieur Jean Paul Perrin ;” but gives no opinion as to the age of the MSS., nor indeed does he so much as mention what they were.

The *external* evidence for the antiquity of the Treatise on Antichrist being thus unsatisfactory and imperfect, let us next inquire whether it exhibits any better *internal* marks of genuineness ^g.

l'Antechrist, le quel, &c. . . . En ce mesme volume sont contenus plusieurs sermons des Barbes Vaudois. Et un traicté contre les pechés, et des remedes pour resister au peché.” Perrin, *Hist. des Vaudois*, p. 57.

^f Morland. *History of the Evangelical Churches of Piedmont*.—Fol. Lond. 1658. p. 9.

^g I have not thought it necessary to enter into any of the arguments

And first, with respect to the *language* of the treatise, Bossuet has given it as his opinion that it is written in a dialect much more modern than the twelfth century; "Et d'ailleurs," he says, "ce traité sur l'Antechrist, qu' on prétend être de 1160" [1120] "n'est pas d'un autre langage que les autres pièces des Barbes que Perrin a citées; et ce langage est très moderne, fort peu différent du Provençal que nous connoissons. Non seulement le langage de Villehardouin, qui a écrit cent ans après Pierre de Bruis, mais encore celui des auteurs qui ont suivi Villehardouin, est plus ancien et plus obscur que celui que l'on veut dater de l'an 1120, si-bien qu'on ne peut se moquer du monde d'une façon plus grossière qu'en nous donnant ces discours comme fort anciens ^b."

I cannot pretend to form an opinion of my own on this subject, and Bossuet, it may be said, was a prejudiced judge; but so far as I am competent to understand the matter, I have little doubt that the dialect of these pieces belongs to a period very much later than that to which they are assigned ¹. It is certainly very suspicious, to say

by which the claim to antiquity of the treatises on Purgatory and Invocation of Saints may be disproved. Our present concern is only with the treatise on Antichrist; and there is not, I think, any good reason for assuming that these formed a part of it. Besides, Mr. Faber has termed them "palpably spurious adjuncts," and concedes to the arguments of Bossuet, that they "assuredly cannot have been written in the *twelfth* century." (Vallenses and Albigenses, p. 371-3.) Yet, the only external testimony we possess in favour of the ancient date of the treatise on Antichrist, has asserted equally the antiquity of these "palpably spurious adjuncts."

^b Hist. des Variations, liv. xi. n. cxxvi.

¹ Raynouard has a dissertation on the "Poesies des Vaudois," prefixed to tom. ii. (p. cxxxvii. seq.) of his *Choix des poesies originales des Troubadours*—a work in which he has published *La nobla Leyczon, La Barca, Lo novel sermon, Lo novel confort, Lo Payre eternal, Lo despreczi del mont, and L'avangeli de li quatre semencz*. Raynouard professes to have published the above poems in a form much more correct

the least, that the treatise on Antichrist should be written in precisely the same dialect as the other tracts, several of which are now acknowledged by the most zealous defenders of Waldensian antiquity to be of much later origin, and one to have been composed subsequently to the Reformation¹. That the dialect or style of these several docu-

than that in which they are given by Perrin and his followers; but I regret that I have not had an opportunity of consulting his work; I know it only from the quotations made from it by Gieseler, *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*. (Periode III. Abschn. iii. s. 86. note m.)

All the above mentioned poems occur in a volume preserved among Archbishop Ussher's MSS. in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, Class C., Tab. 5, No. 21. It is a small paper volume, written at the beginning of the 16th century, very similar to the volume alluded to in note ^d, page 404, and apparently written by the same scribe.

¹ Thus, for example, Mr. Faber now admits that the Waldensian Confession of Faith, which, in his Sacred Calendar of Prophecy, (vol. iii. p. 50,) he had quoted as written in 1120, is at least four centuries later. "With respect to the *Confession of Faith*," he says, "it strikes me, from its scholastic regularity, and from its being systematically drawn up in fourteen several articles, as affording decisive internal evidence, that it must have been composed subsequently to the Reformation." (Vallenses and Albigenses, p. 370.) See some very strong arguments for the same opinion in Mr. Maitland's "Facts and Documents," p. 123, sq. In like manner, Mr. Faber now gives up the *Catechism*, with the Treatises on Purgatory, the Invocation of Saints, and the Sacraments, (p. 371—3;) but he still maintains that the tract on *Antichrist* was composed in the twelfth century, although he has reduced its antiquity to the year 1160. Allix rejects the *Catechism* and the Treatise on the Invocation of Saints, or more properly that on Purgatory, for it is there the reference to the milleloquium of St. Augustin is found. His words are: "I do not intend here, in order to prove the opinions of the diocese of Italy, to make use of a catechism published by Sir Sam. Morland, and by Leger, as written about the year 1100, nor of another treatise of the Invocation of Saints, which they pretend was written about the year 1120; my reason is, because it seems to me that that catechism quotes the Scripture as distinguished into chapters, which was not till after the midst of the xiii. century. And as for the treatise concerning the Invocation of Saints, it quotes the *Milleloquium*

ments is pretty nearly the same, must be evident from the fact that Perrin, Leger, and Morland, as well as the person unknown to whom Mr. Faber ascribes the date on the envelope, were so far from perceiving any difference, that they supposed them all to have been written at the same time; and hence we are compelled to conclude, either that the more modern of these pieces were composed in designed imitation of the more ancient, or else that the documents hitherto supposed to be ancient, must be reduced to the date of those which are now admitted to be modern. It will be difficult to persuade any one who has paid the slightest attention to the history of human language, that the dialect of the valleys of Piedmont should have experienced no essential alteration from the beginning of the twelfth century to the present day^k.

But the treatise on Antichrist exhibits so many internal evidences of having been composed at a period later than the twelfth century, that we need feel no very great surprise at its exhibiting an identity of style and dialect with the Catechism and the treatise on Purgatory.

of St. Austin, which was not compos'd by *Fr. Bartholomeus of Urbin*, till about the midst of the xiv. century. So that it seems these gentlemen founded their judgments of the antiquity of these pieces on too weak grounds." *Churches of Piedmont*, 4to. Lond. 1690. p. 169.

^k Mr. Gilly, without perceiving how much such an admission militates against the antiquity of the Waldensian MSS., has asserted that the language in which they are written varies very little from that *now* in use in the valleys. He assumes, indeed, that the *Noble Lesson* and the rest are genuine remains of the twelfth century, and boldly tells his reader, that "a comparison between the words in the brief vocabulary subjoined," (which was gathered from the modern Vaudois,) "and those in the original of the *Noble Lesson*, which will be found in Appendix No. II., will shew how little the language of this secluded community has varied for the last seven hundred years." App. No. ix. p. li. (quoted by Mr. Maitland, *Facts and Documents*, p. 121, note.) If this has been the case, so singular a phenomenon well deserves the serious attention of philologists.

In the first place the Scriptures are quoted by references to our present chapters, and that, not merely by figures, which we might suppose to have been inserted by a scribe or an editor, but by words at full length. Thus, (ap. Perrin, *Hist. des Albigeois*, liv. iii. p. 273) “Car lo Seignor dis, Esaia cinquantadous. Departé vous, Departé vous, &c.” And again (*ibid.*) “Et Jeremia cinquanta. Fugé del mez Babylonia, saille de la terra de li Caldei, &c.” So that it must at least be confessed, that the copy from which Perrin printed could not have been as old as the twelfth century; for this is exactly the modern style of quoting Scripture, and it is well known that our present division of the Bible into chapters, was made in the latter half of the thirteenth century. If therefore we allow a sufficient time for the use of the chapters to become so general as the mode of quoting Scripture adopted in this treatise implies, we shall be forced to conclude that it could not have been composed before the close of the fourteenth century at the earliest^m.

^l Leger has altered the text in both the instances here cited, substituting numerals, “Esaia 52,” and “Jeremia 50.” (p. 77.) Whether this was done by accident or by design, I shall not undertake to decide.

^m In fact we have seen that this was the reason given by Allix for rejecting the catechism,—(see p. 407, note ^l,)—and if the quotation of the Bible by chapters be fatal to the antiquity of the one document, it must conclude equally against the other. (See Mr. Maitland’s *Facts and Documents*, p. 132.) Mr. Faber attempts to meet this objection by adducing the case of “the manuscript Bible of Hugh Pudsey, Bishop of Durham, which was written by his order some time between the years 1153 and 1194,” and which “is actually divided into chapters, though not perfectly coincident with our present chapters.” (Vallenses and Albigenses, p. 376, note.) But the objection is, not that Scripture is quoted by chapters, (although this would be very unusual in a work of the twelfth century,) but that it is quoted by *our present chapters*. No person acquainted with Biblical MSS. ever doubted that a capitulation may be found, especially in the New Testament, in MSS. older than

But secondly, we find the word "purgatori" used in its modern sense in this treatise, (ap. Perrin, loc. cit. p. 266.) The author is complaining that the Roman Church had substituted for the merits of Christ, in the work of man's salvation, her own authority, forms of words, the merits of the saints and their intercession, and the fire of Purgatory; "et lo deputa et lo tribuis a la soa authorita, a la forma de las parolas, a las soas obras, et a li Sanct, et a la lor entercession, et al fuoc en Purgatori, &c." Mr. Maitland has observed, (Facts and Documents, p. 133, note,) that al-

the thirteenth century; but our present chapters did not exist before that period, and were not used in making references to texts of Scripture until much later.

Mr. Faber, (ubi supra, p. 375,) calls this objection from the quotations of Scripture, "an imaginary difficulty, childishly started;" and he says, "Let us take a case in point. Claude's commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians is known to have been written in the ninth century. Now that commentary exhibits the Epistle as being regularly divided into six chapters. Therefore, clearly, on the principle of the present objection, the commentary, instead of having been written in the ninth century, is a mere comparatively modern fabrication." This, however, is very far from being a case in point; for a commentary on a book of Scripture will of course admit of any subdivision to which the book itself has been subjected: and if we have external evidence, as in the case adduced we are supposed to have, that the commentary was written before the division of the text into chapters, the corresponding division of the commentary, in a printed copy, would prove nothing, except that it had passed through the hands of a modern editor. But quotations of Scripture by our present chapters, in the body of a work, where texts are strung together without any thing to connect them, or to intimate that they are quotations, except these very references to book and chapter, must be felt to be a different matter, especially when they occur in the copy published by the original editor, and when it was that editor's avowed object in publishing the work to establish its claim to antiquity. This much weight, however, Mr. Faber allows to "the imaginary difficulty;" it proves, at least, that Perrin's MS. was not written in 1120, or else that in printing it he has taken very unwarrantable liberties with the original.

though we meet with *ignis Purgatorius* at an earlier period, he had not seen the word *purgatorium* in any writing earlier than the thirteenth century. And it will be found, I believe, that the word did not come into any thing like general use until a period much later; for it was in the middle of the thirteenth century (A. D. 1254), that Pope Innocent IV. in a letter to Cardinal Eudes, (or Otho,) Bishop of Tusculum, enjoined the use of the word in the controversy between the Greeks of Cyprus and the Latin Bishop of Nicosia,—the Greeks having objected that no name had been given by their doctors to the place of purgatorial fire. To meet this difficulty the Pontiff says, “*Nos quia locum purgationis hujusmodi dicunt [Græci] non fuisse sibi ab eorum doctoribus certo et proprio nomine indicatum, illum quidem, juxta traditiones et auctoritates sanctorum Patrum, purgatorium nominantes, volumus, quod de cætero apud illos isto nomine appelletur.*” Epist. ad Ottonem Card. Tusculan. n. 23. (Concil. Labbei & Cossart. tom. xi. col. 612. seq.) Language like this obviously implies, that the term purgatory had not then acquired its present theological or technical signification; and it would seem, from the construction of the whole passage,—(“*Nos....illum [locum purgationis, scil.] purgatorium nominantes, volumus, &c.*”)—that Innocent considered himself as the first to impose the nameⁿ. At all events it is quite certain that no writing in which the word purgatory is employed in its present signification, could

ⁿ Fleury, referring to this passage, speaks as if the term had been previously in use in the Latin Church, although unknown to the Greeks; he represents the Pope as saying, “*nous voulons qu'ils nomment purgatoire, comme nous, le lieu de cette purgation, quoiqu'ils disent que leur docteurs ne lui ont point donné de nom.*” (Hist. Eccl. liv. lxxxiii. n. 47.) The reader, however, will observe, that there is nothing in the original to justify Fleury's “*comme nous.*”

have been composed so early as 1120 ; and that the term did not come into general use until the fourteenth century*.

Another circumstance which renders it impossible to suppose the Treatise on Antichrist to have been composed in any part of the twelfth century, is, that it speaks of the Roman Church as having persecuted, hunted, robbed, and murdered the true followers of Christ.

* In one of St. Bernard's sermons, which, if it be genuine, must have been written a full century before the date of Pope Innocent's letter, above quoted, (for St. Bernard died in 1153,) we find the following passage: "*Tria sunt loca, quæ mortuorum animæ pro diversis meritis sortiuntur: infernus, purgatorium, cælum. In inferno impii, in purgatorio purgandi, in cælo perfecti.*" De diversis, Sermon. xlii. n. 5. But, as this is the only place in St. Bernard's writings, so far as I can find, in which he uses the word *purgatory*, notwithstanding his very frequent mention of the *thing*, his works may still be appealed to, even if we admit the genuineness of this one, in proof of the assertion that the term had not in his time come into popular use. There is, however, much reason to doubt whether all these sermons were written by St. Bernard in their present Latin dress. (See Mabillon, Pref. in tom. iii. opp. S. Bernardi, n. 8. sq.) And therefore we can hardly be safe in drawing from them any inference as to the date of a technical word, unless we could determine at what period the Latin version was made. In the present case, it is remarkable that there is extant a sermon, attributed to St. Bernard's unworthy notary, Nicholas, which is little more than a paraphrastic version of that from which the foregoing words are quoted, and in it the word *purgatorium* does not occur. The passage corresponding to the above is as follows: "*Trinæ sunt distinctiones locorum, quas pro diversitate meritorum animæ sortiuntur. Ad cælum namque statim evolant, qui domicilio corporis usi sunt, tanquam carcere; qui defæcatam, puramque substantiam utriusque hominis servaverunt. E contrario, qui fecerunt usque ad mortem quæ digna sunt morte, Locis gehennalibus sine misericordia deputantur. Qui vero neutrum sunt, sed sunt inter utrumque; qui mortalia quidem commiserunt, sed circa mortem pœnituerunt, pœnitentiam non explentes, indigni ut statim gaudeant, nec digni ut semper ardeant, loca purgatoria sortiuntur.*" Sermon. de S. Nicolao. n. 6. (Opp. S. Bern. tom. v. col. 733. Ed. Bened. Paris. 1719.)

“ La octava obra de l’Antechrist es, que el eyra, e persec, et acaissonna, roba et mortifica li membre de Christ.”

“ The eighth work of Antichrist is, that he hates and persecutes, and searcheth after, dispoils and destroys the members of Christ ^p. ”

Here is a plain allusion to the Waldensian wars, which it must be admitted by every one, could hardly have been made in 1120, or even in 1160 ; I am not aware that at so early a period any persecutions whatsoever had been raised against the inhabitants of the valleys of Piedmont by the Pope or any other person ; nor could it have been *then* said, with any shadow of plausibility, that hatred and persecution of the members of Christ were characteristics of the Roman Church.

Again, we find in this treatise the following distinct allusion to the adoration of the host in the Lord’s Supper :

“ La primera obra es que el convertis lo cootivament de Latria, propiament propi al sol Dio, à si, et à li seo fait, à la paura creatura rational et non rational, sensible o non sensible. Rational, enaima li home, Sanct o Sanctas trapassas d’aquest mond, e a las imagenas de l’or, galas, reliquias. Li fait de luy son li Sacrament, specialment lo Sacrament de la Eucharistia, que el col per Dio, e per Jesu Christ simellantament, col las cosas

“ The first [work] is that it perverts the service of *Latria*, that is the worship properly due to God alone, by giving it to Antichrist himself, and to his works, to the poor creature, reasonable or unreasonable, sensible or senseless ; to the reasonable, as to man, male or female Saints deceased, and unto images, carcases, or relicks. His works are the Sacraments, especially the Sacrament of the Eucharist, which he adoreth as God, and as

^p Morland, p. 149.

benitas et consacràs, e proi-
bis adorar lo sol Dio."

*Jesus Christ, together with
the things blessed and con-
secrated by him, and prohi-
bits the worship of God
alone^q."*

Now the adoration of the consecrated elements did not begin until the twelfth century, and was not generally practised until the thirteenth. The old rule of the council of Nice, which is so entirely inconsistent with the adoration of the host, as it was subsequently practised, was recognized by a constitution of Alexander III., which still holds its place in the Decretals of Gregory IX. (Lib. ii. tit. ix. c. 2, *Quoniam*.) "Diebus autem Dominicis et aliis præcipuis festivitatibus, sive inter Pascha et Pentecosten, genuum flexio nequaquam debet fieri; nisi aliquis ex devotione id velit facere in secreto^r." At this time, therefore, i. e. in the latter half of the twelfth century, the adoration of the host was comparatively unknown. It was first publicly enjoined by Honorius III. in the early part of the thirteenth century, in a decree which has also been inserted in the Decretals, (Lib. iii. tit. xli. c. 10, *Sane*.) "Sacerdos vero quilibet frequenter doceat plebem suam, ut cum in celebratione Missarum elevatur Hostia salutaris, se reverenter inclinet, idem faciens cum eam defert presbyter ad infirmum." To promote this practice, and to facilitate the compliance of the laity, a bell was ordered to be rung

^q Morland, p. 148.

^r Compare Concil. Nic. I. can. xx. This rule was altogether set aside by Pope Gregory X. in the *Ceremoniale Romanum*, drawn up by his command at the latter end of the thirteenth century, and published by Mabillon in his *Museum Italicum*. The rule laid down by this Pontiff was as follows: "Et in missa similiter debemus stare flexis genibus in orationibus ante epistolam, et post cantum ad elevationem corporis Christi. In elevatione vero corporis Christi, cum antea parum debeant surgere, prosternant se ad terram, et adorent reverenter in facies cadendo." *Mus. Ital.* tom. ii. p. 335.

at the elevation of the host, by Gregory IX., in the year 1240, which may therefore be taken as the date from which the adoration began to be recognized as a rite of the Western Church. (Decret ap. Nauclerum gener. 42, anno 1240. Ivo Carnot. epist. 167, cited by Gavanti Thes. Sacror. Rit. tom. i., part ii. tit. viii. p. 249. Aug. Vind. 1763. fol.)

Thus it appears, that it was late in the thirteenth century before the Roman Pontiffs had issued their decrees for the general practice of this superstition, and later still before the adoration of the host could be said to be every where adopted. It is impossible therefore that the passage which has just been quoted from the Treatise on Antichrist, could have been written before the middle of the fourteenth century^a.

The only further objection I shall urge against the early date of the Treatise on Antichrist, is furnished by its doctrine on the nature of Antichrist, and by the whole drift of its argument, which is almost entirely an exhortation to separate from the Roman Church.

This makes it evident that the treatise was not composed

^a Cæsarius of Heisterbach, in his Dialogues, De miraculis et visionibus sui temporis. lib. ix. c. 51, speaks of the introduction of the practice of adoration at Cologne by Card. Wido, in 1203; and his mode of recording the fact, as well as the zeal with which he advocates the practice, clearly prove that it was then a novelty, and far from being in general use in the Western Church. He says, "Tempore schismatis inter Philippum et Othonem, dominus Wido Cardinalis, aliquando Abbas Cisterciensis, cum missus fuisset Coloniam [A. D. 1203.] ad confirmandam electionem Othonis, bonam illic consuetudinem instituit; præcepit enim, ut ad elevationem Hostiæ omnis populus in Ecclesia ad sonitum nolæ veniam peteret, sicque usque ad calicis benedictionem prostratus jaceret. Precepit etiam idem Cardinalis, ut quoties deferendum esset ad infirmum, scholaris sive campanarius sacerdotem præcedens per nolam illud proderet; sicque omnis populus tam in stratis, quam in domibus, Christum adoraret."

until after the excommunication of the Vaudois, or poor men of Lyons, by Papal authority—an event that did not take place until 1183, at the very earliest[†]. There is perhaps no fact better authenticated in the history of Peter Waldo and his followers, than that they did not at first contemplate a separation from the see of Rome;—it is even said that they began by soliciting from the Pope a recognition of their sect; and it is certain that the idea of a separate communion did not occur to them until after they had been cast out as enemies, and driven to desperation by the scourge of papal excommunication. Nothing, therefore, can be more improbable, or more at variance with all we know of Waldo's doctrine, than Mr. Faber's hypothesis that the *Treatise on Antichrist*, in which separation from the Roman Church is so

[†] The year 1183 is the date of the decree of Pope Lucius III., which is, I believe, the earliest papal denunciation of the Waldenses, or poor men of Lyons. Concil. Labbe et Cossart. tom. x. col. 1737. Perrin, and after him Sir Samuel Morland, mention Alexander III. as the first pope under whose decrees the Waldenses suffered persecution. (Perrin, Vaudois, p. 97. Morland, p. 190.) This, however, is an assertion vaguely made, and of which they offer no proof; it probably owes any plausibility it may possess to the confusion between the Albigensian and Waldensian sects, which has so much perplexed this part of church history; for it is doubtless true that the Albigensian heretics were condemned at the third Lateran council in 1179, under Alexander III. Bellarmine, (*De Concil. lib. i. cap. 5, n. 29,*) makes the same mistake, when he tells us that this council was assembled “pro reformatione ecclesiæ, et contra Waldenses;” for there is nothing in the decrees of the council which can be interpreted as an allusion to Waldensian doctrine, whereas the Albigenses are expressly named, and their peculiar doctrines described, in the 27th canon, *De hereticis*. Nay, we are told, and the statement is confirmed by more than one contemporary author, that a deputation from the Waldenses was present at this very council, for the purpose of soliciting the sanction of the Pope to their sect; that they presented the Pope with a book in which the text and gloss of the Psalter, with the greater part of the Old and New Testaments, were written in the vernacular tongue; and that the

strenuously advocated, was the production of that reformer at the very commencement of his career^u.

On the whole, then, it appears that this treatise could not possibly have been written in 1120, or even in the twelfth century, and that the more reasonable opinion is, that it was composed at the close of the fifteenth, if not at the beginning of the sixteenth century. But, whether this be so or no, it is enough for our present purpose to have proved that the date to which Mede assigns it is altogether untenable; and therefore that his hypothesis, which is dependent on that date, must fall entirely to the ground.

So much for Mede's interpretation of the 1290 prophetic days. Let us now consider whether any better reasons can be given for his assertion, that the next period of 1335 days was fulfilled in the inquisitorial proceedings of the court of Rome and its emissaries, against the Albigenses, Waldenses, and other reputed heretics, at the close of the twelfth century.

I have already made some general observations on this theory considered as an exposition of the prophecy^v. It is impossible, I conceive, for any unprejudiced reader of the sacred text to imagine, that a *persecution and massacre*, to begin at the end of the 1335 days, is foretold by the words, "Blessed is he that waiteth and cometh to the thousand three hundred five and thirty days^w;" and although Mede attempts to explain this of the blessedness of martyrdom, in accordance with another declaration of holy writ, "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord^x," yet this is a mere

Pope refused to grant them the privileges of a religious order, not in consequence of their doctrines, (of which no mention is made,) but, to use the words of Abbot Conrad's Chronicle, because "*Dominus Papa quædam superstitiosa in conversatione eorum objecit.*" The proofs of this fact will be laid before the reader in Note C.

^u Vallenses and Albigenses, p. 373. ^v See p. 364—7.

^w Dan. xii. 12.

^x Rev. xiv. 12.

evasion of the difficulty, for the prophecies, as I have already said, are so far from being parallel, that the one is evidently spoken of the living, and the other, on the contrary, of the dead^y. Besides, it is particularly to be remarked, that the whole period of the 1335 days is obviously described as the season of blessedness;—the prophecy foretells the blessedness of him that *waiteth and cometh to* the 1335 days, not the blessedness of him who shall live, and suffer martyrdom *after their termination*; yet it is in this last sense that Mede's exposition requires us to understand the words.

But let us set aside the inquiry whether our author's interpretation of the prophecy can or cannot be reconciled with the sacred text; in other words, let us grant, for the sake of argument, that a persecution of the saints, or of a large body of reformers refusing to participate in the corruptions of the Church, is predicted, and the inquiry will still remain, whether, on this view of the prophecy, it can be shown to have been fulfilled at the required period;—in short, whether the historical facts to which Mede refers are reconcileable with his own theory. His words are, “Inter Annum Christi 1160 et 1170, (nam quo præcisè anno inter Scriptores non convenit,) quodam quasi *Anti-*

^y It would, I conceive, be quite as reasonable to say that the words of the Psalmist, “Blessed is the man that hath not walked in the counsel of the ungodly,” should be interpreted of such as suffer martyrdom, because we read in the Apocalypse, “Blessed are the dead,” &c. The unwarrantable assumptions tacitly taken for granted in Mede's juxtaposition of the two prophecies, will be clearly seen if we exhibit his argument thus: “They that come to the end of the 1335 days are blessed;—They that die in the Lord are blessed;—Martyrs die in the Lord; therefore, they that come to the end of the days are martyrs.” The logician will at once perceive the gross fallacy of such reasoning; it would be valid only on the hypothesis that none but martyrs die in the Lord, and that none but such as die martyrs are blessed.

christi jam patefacti classico excitati, magnus hominum numerus, alii *Waldenses* ab authore *Waldo*, alii *Albigenses*, alii aliis dicti nominibus, ab ecclesia Romana secessionem fecerunt; eam esse *Babylonem* illam Apocalypticam, *Matrem scortationum et abominationum terræ*, mirabili planè consensu et constantia denunciantes. In quos ingens statim persecutio exorta est, imò integri exercitus adversus eos ducti; tantaque strages (priusquam cessatum est) edita, ut per Galliam solam, si *Paulus Perronius* in ejus belli historia recte calculum inierit, occisa sint ad DECIES CENTENA hominum MILLIA." Works, pp. 722, 723.

The first observation I shall make upon this statement is, that Mede has fallen into the common mistake which has thrown such obscurity upon this part of Church history, and which Romanists as well as their opponents have laboured from opposite motives to perpetuate; I mean the mistake of supposing the Albigensian and Waldensian sects to be the same in character and doctrine. Mr. Faber, indeed, has very recently made a new attempt to prop up this strange paradox in a work that has been truly characterized as "one of the boldest and weakest that a reckless style of controversy has produced*;" but as he has not ventured to grapple with the "Facts and Documents^a," laid before the public some

* See Mr. Maitland's letter to the Rev. W. H. Mill, D.D., (p. 17,) a pamphlet very recently published, containing some strictures on Mr. Faber's work, of which some further notice will be taken in Note B.

^a "Facts and Documents illustrative of the History, Doctrine, and Rites of the ancient Albigenses and Waldenses. By the Rev. S. R. Maitland." London, (Rivingtons,) 1832. Although this work has been regarded by the most competent judges as having decided the question, I have not discovered a single allusion to it in the whole of Mr. Faber's "Inquiry into the History of the Vallenses, &c.;" and yet there is reason to believe that he must have been aware of its existence. When I say that Mr. Maitland has decided the question, I would not be understood to imply that the real character of the Cathari, Paulicians, and Albigensian sects was ever doubted by any

years ago by Mr. Maitland, and as he has in truth advanced nothing but the strangest perversions of historical

man of real learning, capable of forming an impartial judgment. The question has unhappily got mixed up in the controversy with Rome, with which it really has nothing to do, and the truth has been almost equally perverted by both the contending parties: the Romanists maintaining that the Waldensian, as well as the Albigensian sects, were alike Manichæans, which is the position defended by Gretser, Mariana, Bellarmine, &c.; the Protestants, on the contrary, asserting that the accusation of Manichæism is a malicious calumny, and that neither Albigenses nor Waldenses are justly chargeable with it. Of late, however, it is to be hoped that both sides have learned to view the question with more candour, and to follow, without prejudice, the testimony of the original authorities. Thus, Fleury says, (Hist. Eccles. livr. lxxiii. n. 55, vol. xv. p. 532,) "Il ne faut pas confondre ces nouveaux herétiques avec les Cathares ou Albigeois, beaucoup plus anciens; et on ne voit pas que ceux ci eussent encore," [A. D. 1184,] "d'autre erreur que l'estime de sa pauvreté oisive, le mépris de l'autorité du clergé;" and Bossuet acknowledges, "Lorsqu'ils se sont séparés, ils n'avoient encore que très peu de dogmes contraires aux nôtres, et peut-être point du tout." (Hist. des Variations, livr. xi. n. 73.) So also Protestant authors have now fully admitted the Manichæan tendency of the Albigensian doctrines. Mosheim says, "Angustiori sensu *Albigenses* sunt illi, qui alioquin *Cathari* in Italia, *Publicani* seu *Pauliciani*, *Bulgari* appellantur, homines ad Manichæorum disciplinam propius accedentes. Id constat cum aliis ex monumentis, tum clarissime ex Inquisitionis Tolosanæ codice a Limborchio edito, in quo *Albigenses* ab aliis sectis segregantur." (Institt. Hist. Eccl. sæc. xiii. p. ii. cap. v. § 7, note l.) This is the very argument that has since been so fully developed by Mr. Maitland, and which, as we may infer from the words just quoted, appeared to Mosheim, as it now does to those who have the advantage of Mr. Maitland's labours, to be decisive on the subject. The same views are put forward by Gieseler, (Lehrbuch der Kirchen-geschichte,) Fuesslin, (Kirchen- und-Ketzerhistorie der mittlern Zeit,) and Schmid (der Mysticismus des Mittelalters in seiner Entstehungsperiode.) For a very able and conclusive discussion of the question, as far as it relates to the character of the Paulicians, see "A Letter to the Rev. S. R. Maitland, on the Opinions of the Paulicians. By the Rev. John Goulter Dowling, M. A." London, (Rivingtons,) 1835.

authorities in favour of his theory, the question must be considered as remaining where it was left by Mr. Maitland's work, and indeed by the previous decision of the best ecclesiastical historians. Until something more conclusive therefore than garbled extracts, and misquoted or misinterpreted facts of history can be adduced in support of Mr. Faber's paradox, we must continue to believe that the Albigensian sects were Manichean heretics, denying the omnipotence and supremacy of the Deity, ridiculing the sacred mystery of the Incarnation, and rejecting the ministry and sacraments of the Church. We must believe also that the first appearance of this class of heretics in Europe, and their separation from the Roman communion, are events which must be dated earlier by upwards of a century than the period in which Mede has placed them. It is quite clear, therefore, if this view of the subject be the true one, that the secession of the *Albigenses* from the Church of Rome, and their persecution by the secular and ecclesiastical authorities, cannot have been the events contemplated in the prophecy.

With respect to the *Waldenses*, it is true they are not chargeable with the heretical and anti-christian errors of the sects with whom Mede has confounded them; and although their fundamental principles of the unlawfulness of oaths, and the necessity of an absolute poverty, are not to be excused or justified, yet their doctrine, on the whole, may be considered to have been free from gross or fatal error, at least on fundamental points. But I much doubt whether the separation of the Waldenses from the Roman communion (a step which, at the commencement of the sect, was certainly never contemplated,) was made, on the grounds, or from the motives, that Mede's hypothesis requires him to assume. Be this however as it may, it is certain that this event, and the persecutions that were its cause or consequence, did not take place until long

after the period to which Mede assigns them^b; and therefore it must follow that not even in the history of the Vaudois can be found the accomplishment of the prophecy.

This leads me to notice another weak point in our author's system. If there be one thing more clear than another in the prophecy, it is this, that it predicts a *precise and definite* number of days, or as Mede contends, of years. It is incumbent therefore on the expositor, who alleges certain historical facts as the fulfilment of the prediction, to shew that the accomplishment of the required number of days or years can be proved from history to have taken place in a manner as precise and definite as they are foretold in the prediction. This, however, is a condition that Mede has not deemed it incumbent on him to fulfil,—he has distinctly admitted his inability to ascertain the termination of either of the two prophetic periods within a limit of six years; but this is not all, for when he comes to discuss the fulfilment of the period of 1335 years, he enlarges the limits of its termination from six to ten years, and tells his readers, moreover, that historians are not agreed as to the precise date of the transactions to which he refers. “*Interannum Christi*,” he says, “1160 et 1170;” and he adds, “*nam quo præcise anno inter scriptores non convenit.*” Such an admission is manifestly fatal to his theory, for the prophecy, as I have said, describes a precise and definite period of 1335 days, and if we are unable to fix the termination of that period within a range of ten years, the predicted number needed not to have been so exact; the proposed fulfilment would have suited equally well to a prediction in which the days foretold were 1325, or 1345; and we are compelled to believe that the definite preciseness of the prophecy is a circumstance of

^b Some of the authorities upon which these statements rest have been already noticed,—(see p. 416,)—and others will be referred to in Note C.

no importance, which may therefore be neglected without detriment to the reality of its fulfilment.

On the whole, then, I think it appears that Mede's theory rests on a principle of interpretation which is wholly arbitrary and without authority ;—that the historical facts to which he appeals in support of it, are misrepresented or misunderstood, and therefore tend rather to refute than to sustain the argument in whose defence they are alleged ; and lastly, that the exposition he has given of the prophetic periods fails to account for some of the most material circumstances of the prediction, and is in almost every particular a wide departure from the plain and literal meaning of the sacred text.

NOTE B.—See LECTURE I. p. 29.

The Canons of Orleans.

THAT the doctrine for which the Canons of Orleans suffered at the beginning of the eleventh century, if not pure Manichæism, was of a Manichæan character, is a fact which we learn from all the original authorities that have recorded their trial and execution. This fact has been recently called in question by Mr. Faber, who maintains that the sufferers “were no Manichæans, but, on the contrary, resolute and heaven-supported martyrs to the true faith of the Gospel^c ;” but as I have felt myself obliged to adhere to the testimony of the original historians, it will probably be considered no more than what is due to Mr. Faber's character and station, to state the reasons why I cannot acquiesce in the version he has given of the story.

I am happy, however, to be able to say, that since the

^c Vallenses and Albigenes, p. 144.

greater part of the foregoing sheets were printed off, Mr. Faber has fallen into hands much better qualified than mine, for the task of exposing his misrepresentations of history; I have therefore only to refer my readers to Mr. Maitland's "Letter to the Rev. W. H. Mill, D.D.^d," in which Mr. Faber's attempt to clear the Canons of Orleans of the charge of Manichæism, has been fully examined, and its reckless boldness satisfactorily exposed.

His principal argument for refusing to follow the guidance of the original historians, is taken from the alleged discrepancies which he conceives himself to have detected in the accounts they have given of the doctrines for which these unhappy men were condemned and burned. He says;

"According to Rodulphus Glaber, the accused were absolute atheists: who, thence, believing in *no God*, consistently denied both the creation of the world and a future state of retribution.

"According to John of Fleury and the Fragment of the History of Aquitaine, they were Manichæans; who, as we all know, maintained the existence of *two Gods*; an evil God, the creator of the material world; and a good God, the creator of the spiritual world.

"According to the Acts of the Synod of Orleans, they believed in *one God* the creator of the universe: and so far from denying a future state of retribution, they confidently, on the very eve of a dreadful death, looked forward to an immortal triumph and to joy celestial.

"Here we have *three* jarring accounts, *which* of them are we to receive?" Vallenses and Albigenses, pp. 144—5.

^d "A Letter to the Rev. W. H. Mill, D.D., late Principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta, containing some Strictures on Mr. Faber's recent work, entitled 'The Ancient Wallenses and Albigenses.' By the Rev. S. R. Maitland, Librarian to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury." London, (Rivingtons,) 1839.

It will doubtless surprise the reader to be told, that these alleged inconsistencies exist only in Mr. Faber's misapprehension of the subject, and that the authors against whom he brings this serious charge are wholly guiltless of it. Upon this subject, however, I shall content myself with extracting from Mr. Maitland's pamphlet what he has said in reply to these imaginary discrepancies.

“ Now here it ought, perhaps, to be observed, just as a caution not to place too much confidence in Mr. Faber's representations, that Glaber says nothing of Atheists, and John of Fleury nothing of Manichæans. But all these lesser points are absorbed in the important and startling disclosure that Mr. Faber here makes, namely, that, notwithstanding all his pretensions, he really does not know what Manichæism was. He has written much, and in a very high tone, on the subject; and here is a large book, the object of which is, in a great measure, to decide whether certain people were, or were not, Manichæans; and Mr. Faber exposes, beyond all question or doubt, his disgraceful ignorance as to the nature of that heresy. He not only states the crude, vulgar notions, that the Manichæans were people who believed in two Gods, and that people who denied that God created the world must be atheists, but deliberately argues that those who so much as named a God in the singular number, could not belong to either of those two classes, any more than those two classes could be one and the same. And, bold in this ignorance, he has dressed up a scarecrow to frighten his readers, without the least idea that he was, in the most gross and undeniable manner, exposing his own ignorance. ‘ Manichæans, who, as we all know, maintained the existence of *two Gods*.’ Indeed we do not know any such thing; and then, on the *mere* ground that the History of Aquitaine calls them by the name of Manichæans, he affirms, that in the synod, ‘ THEY ASSERTED the material world and the

spiritual world to have been severally created by *two Gods*.' This is making much of a word ; but it places Mr. Faber's real ignorance in the clearest light. His argument is, that *if* they were Manichæans they *must* have asserted the doctrine of *two Gods*. If he had said this to Faustus the Manichæan, I think he could have answered as he did to St. Augustine, '*Nunquam in nostris assertionibus duorum deorum auditum est nomen.*' If Mr. Faber had read a little about the matter, he would have known that a Manichæan might talk, with perfect sectarian orthodoxy, of God as the '*Conditor* omnium,' and he would have known how to translate that phrase better (not better, indeed, for the purpose of puzzling the matter with seeming contradictions,) than by '*the Creator* of all things.' He would have known that thus to speak was not inconsistent with what Glaber says that these people affirmed, namely, that the Scripture account of a trine and one God was false, and that the heaven and the earth had (to take Mr. Faber's translation,) '*existed without any creator from all eternity.*' Mr. Faber may puzzle his readers, as I believe he has puzzled himself, by ignorantly using the same English word *creator* as the equivalent both of *Conditor*, and of *Auctor initii*. The difference is great ; for while a Manichæan would be likely to speak of God '*the Conditor*,' the '*Fabricator*,' or even '*the Auctor*' of the world, he would not have allowed him to be the *Auctor initii*, because he believed him to have disposed, or fabricated, or made, (or what you will, that does not express absolute origination,) that world out of himself, and therefore of matter co-eternal with himself ; and holding this doctrine, the heretic would not, of course, admit that the world had any beginning at all. . You know much better than I do how easy it would be for a learned man to detect, and still more easy for an ignorant one to fancy, inconsistencies in the obscure accounts which we have of the heresy

of men, under strong delusion, of a nature so monstrous, and at the same time so subtle. I pretend not to any extraordinary knowledge of it; but here every body may see that there is palpable ignorance; and ignorance so mischievously employed, that it ought to be exposed. I do not believe that there is the least discrepancy between the different accounts which Mr. Faber has attempted to play off against each other; and the fact that some contain one part and some another, and state different points of an obscure creed, which are perfectly reconcilable, though not obviously so to those who do not know other parts, does, to my own mind, very greatly add to the weight of their united testimony.

“I believe, then, that there is no discrepancy between these accounts of doctrine; and (what is of less importance, what I mention with less confidence) that there is nothing in any one of them which is inconsistent with pure Manichæism, unless it be what is contained in Glaber’s two words ‘ut conspiciuntur.’ Perhaps a genuine Manichæan would not have maintained that the heaven and earth had *always* existed as *they now appear*, though he held the eternity of their matter before disposition or fabrication. But a historian who had not a correct knowledge of Manichæan doctrine, might easily use those two words without imagining that he altered the meaning of the sentence. Or for any thing that I know, the men themselves may have used these very words. For who says they were Manichæans? Mr. Faber catches at the single word in the chronicle of Ademar, who does not profess to specify their opinions, in order that he may exhibit them as ‘ASSERTING’ that there were two Gods, at the same time that they asserted that there was one God and no God. But suppose these men were not pure and perfectly informed Manichæans; suppose they were not Manichæans at all; suppose they held absurd and inconsistent doctrines; what then? The

thing is not so improbable as that we should fly in the face of all testimony sooner than believe it. I say this, of course, without the least doubt that they really were Manichæans, and I should feel that I affronted your common sense if I said one word to show that there is no ground for believing them to have been eminently pious protestants, from whom we ought thankfully to trace our descent." Letter to the Rev. W. H. Mill, pp. 37—41.

NOTE C.—See LECTURE I. p. 31.

The Albigenian and Waldensian Sects.

I SHALL here collect from original authorities such passages in the history of the Albigenian and Waldensian sects as may serve to throw light upon the grounds of their respective separation from the Roman Church, in reference more particularly to the question how far they should be taken for trust-worthy guides in the exposition of the prophecies relating to Antichrist.

I shall not, however, discuss the question of the relative antiquity of these sects, nor shall I attempt to explain the various names of Cathari, Poplicani or Publicans, Bulgari or Bougres, and Albigeois or Albigenses*, by which the former class of heretics were known at different times and in different places. It will be enough for my present purpose to observe that the first historical record of their appearance in Europe is dated at the beginning of the eleventh

* Properly speaking, Albigenses were only those who lived in the province of Narbonne, then called *Albigesium*; but modern controversialists have used the name so commonly to designate the whole sect of Cathari, Paterini, &c., that I shall continue to employ it in the same way. See Mosheim, sec. xiii. part ii. cap. v. § 7, n. l. and the Benedictine Hist. generale de Languedoc. Tom. iii. not. xiii. p. 552.

century ^f, and that they had no connexion or similitude of doctrine with the very different and more modern sects, which were distinguished by the names of Leonists, or poor men of Lyons, from their principal residence; Waldenses, from their founder Waldo; and from the *sabots* or sandals which they wore in supposed imitation of the Apostles, Sabbatati or Insabbatati. There is no evidence whatsoever that this latter class of reputed heretics were in existence before the time of Peter Waldo, who flourished at the close of the twelfth century; and the accusation of Manichæism, brought against them by some zealous Romanists, is now admitted by the more learned and candid of that communion to be without foundation ^g. The original and contemporary historians always draw a marked distinction between the two families of heretics; thus Peter, a monk of the Cistercian abbey of Vaux-Sernai, in his history of the Albigenses, after describing the “*hæretici*,” (to whom he gives only that general name ^h,) who infested the province of Narbonne, and to whom he attributes the grossest Manichæism, speaks of the Waldenses in the following terms: “*Erant præterea alii hæretici qui Waldenses dicebantur, a quodam Waldio nomine Lugdunensi. Hi quidem mali erant, sed comparatione aliorum hæreticorum, longe minus perversi; in multis enim nobiscum conveniebant, in aliquibus dissentiebant. Ut autem plurima de infidelitatibus eorum omitamus: in quatuor præcipue consistebat error eorum; in portandis scilicet sandalis more Apostolorum, et in eo quod dicebant nulla ratione jurandum, vel occidendum. In hoc*

^f See Gieseler, *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, Periode III. Abschn. ii. c. 3, and the authorities there cited.

^g See in particular Bossuet, *Variations*, liv. xi.

^h I believe it will be found very nearly a general rule that whenever writers of the twelfth or thirteenth centuries speak of *heretics* absolutely, without any designation of name or other particulars, Albigenses, or heretics of the Manichæan character, are intended.

insuper quod asserebant, quemlibet eorum in necessitate, dummodo haberet sandalia, absque ordinibus ab episcopo acceptis, posse conficere corpus Christi¹." We learn also from William of Puys Laurens, that the Waldenses were not only wholly distinct from, but were in the habit of disputing against the Albigenses. In the prologue to his Chronicle, published by Du Chesne, (Hist. Franc. Script. tom. v. p. 666,) after describing the great spread of heresy in the province of Narbonne, Albi, &c., he adds, "Erantque quidam Arriani, quidam Manichæi, quidam etiam Waldenses sive Lugdunenses, qui licet inter se dissides, omnes tamen in animarum perniciem contra fidem Catholicam conspirabant, et illi quidem Waldenses, contra alios acutissime disputabant."

Thus it appears that the Waldenses were not originally chargeable with doctrinal error, affecting any article of the creed, to which an orthodox Romanist of the thirteenth century could object¹; and they were so far from intending, at the first formation of their sect, to separate from the Roman Church, that when they were forbidden to preach by the Archbishop of Lyons, and excommunicated for disobedience to his prohibition, they are said to have sent a deputation to Rome to procure the papal sanction for their rules, hoping, as it would seem, to have obtained some such privileges as a religious order, as those that were afterwards conceded

¹ Hist. Albigensium, c. ii. ap. Du Chesne, Hist. Franc. Script. tom. v. p. 557. See some larger extracts cited by Mr. Maitland, Facts and Documents, p. 391, seq.

¹ Reinerius mentions it as the third reason why the Leonists or poor men of Lyons were more dangerous to the Church than the Manichæan sects, because they were sound on all the articles of the creed. "Tertia, quia cum omnes aliæ sectæ immanitate blasphemiarum in Deum, audientibus horrorem inducant; hæc, scil. *Leonistarum*, magnam habet speciem pietatis: eo quod coram hominibus juste vivant, et bene omnia de Deo credant, et omnes articulos, qui in Symbolo continentur." Contra Wald. cap. iv. (Bibl. Pat. tom. xxv. p. 264. Lugd. 1677.)

to the disciples of St. Francis and St. Dominick. I shall not stop to investigate the elements of discord that may have been at work in those times between the court of Rome and the bishops ; nor shall I attempt to conjecture how far the Waldenses may have expected their insubordination to their own diocesan to have weighed in their favour at Rome. It will be sufficient for our present purpose to observe, that the Pope rejected their request, and that the name of Peter Waldo; which might otherwise perhaps have now ranked with those of Francis and Dominick, was thenceforth numbered amongst the outcasts. This fact, which is very important to the right understanding of Waldo's original designs, and the real character of his teaching, has been so entirely kept out of sight by the writers who contend for Waldensian Protestantism and antiquity, that it will be necessary to cite some of the authorities for it.

Conrad of Lichtenau, commonly called Abbas Urspergensis, mentions the fact in his Chronicle under the year 1212, immediately after recording the institution of the orders of friars minors and preachers, although the application made by the Vaudois to the Pope appears to have taken place some three or four and thirty years before. It is true the Abbot speaks as if he himself had been an eye-witness of the transaction: "Vidimus," he says, "tunc temporis aliquos de numero eorum qui dicebantur pauperes de Lugduno, &c.;" but, as he was not ordained priest until 1202, it is not likely that he is here using his own words, and therefore Mr. Maitland, with much probability, supposes that he is quoting the account given of the matter by some earlier writer^k. The whole passage is as follows ;

^k "In the works of most writers," Mr. Maitland observes, "the use of the first person would be decisive ; but in this case it affords no evidence whatever, for it was the abbot's way to transfer into his chronicle the statements of earlier writers without altering the person. This habit, though it might have its inconvenience by leading some of

and it is very obvious, from his mode of introducing the subject in connexion with the institution of the Franciscan and Dominican orders, that he looked upon the Vaudois only as disappointed candidates for the same honour¹: “Eo tempore, mundo jam senescente, exortæ sunt duæ religiones in ecclesia, cujus ut aquilæ renovatur juvenus, quæ etiam a sede Apostolica sunt confirmatæ, videlicet

his readers into mistakes, yet seems a sort of voucher that he did not make other alterations, but transcribed documents, just as he found them. Vossius, after expressing his surprise at this custom, mentions several instances, in which the Abbot speaks in the first person, and would lead any reader to suppose that he had himself seen things which took place long before he was born: as when, under the year 1099, he says he was with the expedition of Godfrey of Bouillon—that he was in Rome in 1102, when the Pope excommunicated the emperor—that, in 1106, he saw a comet, &c. ‘Ubique de se in prima loquitur persona, Ego accepi, Ego veni, &c.’ *De Hist. Lat.* 460.” *Facts and Documents*, p. 397.

¹ In the same way Paulus Æmilius speaks of them as a religious order, similar to those founded by Francis and Dominick, but *abrogated* by the refusal of the Pope to license them: “Per idem tempus ordines duo sacri exorti sunt, Prædicatorum, minorumque, duoque abrogati; Humilium, ita se vocitabant; et Pauperum a Lugduno, conditore hujus superstitionis Valdene Lugdunensi. Illi, humilitatis nomine, munia, quibus curatores animorum sacerdotes jure funguntur, sibi arrogabant: confessiones arcanas audiebant: ac velut ipsi expiandi jus haberent noxa solvebant: a liberalibus artibus cum abhorrerent, concionabantur tamen: regimen animorum sibi vendicabant. Pauperes a Lugduno, (ita enim vocitabantur,) neque fundos sui juris, neque certas sedes habere volebant: errabant: mulieres idem professas secum circumducebant: nec secubare dicebantur. Lucius Pontifex Maximus utramque sectam damnaverat: tolli tamen non poterant. Recepti prædicatores fratres, qui, &c. . . . Minores fratres conditore ordinis divo Francisco paupertatem professi sunt. Pauperes minores vocitari cœptos Auspergensis temporum conditor author est; postea sanctius visum omnino Minores dici. Hi saniq̃res ordines visi: illi priores hoc remedio sublati.” *De gestis Francorum*, lib. vi. p. 191-2. (fol. Basil. 1601.)

Minorum fratrum et Prædicatorum. Quæ forte hac occasione sunt approbatæ, quia olim duæ sectæ in Italia exortæ, adhuc perdurant, quorum alii Humiliatos, alii Pauperes de Lugduno se nominabant. Quos Lucius Papa quondam inter hæreticos scribebat, eo quod superstitiosa dogmata, et observationes in eis reperirentur. In occultis quoque prædicationibus, quas faciebant plerumque in latibulis, ecclesiæ Dei et sacerdotio derogabant. Vidimus tunc temporis aliquos de numero eorum qui dicebantur Pauperes de Lugduno, apud sedem Apostolicam cum magistro suo quodam, ut puto, Bernhardo : et hi petebant sectam suam a sede Apostolica confirmari et privilegiari. Sane ipsi dicentes se gerere vitam Apostolorum, nihil volentes possidere, aut certum locum habere, circuibant per vicos et castella. Ast dominus Papa quædam superstitiosa in conversatione eisdem objecit : videlicet quod calceos desuper pedem præcidebant, et quasi nudis pedibus ambulabant. Præterea cum portarent quasdam cappas, quasi religionis, capillos capitis non attondebant, nisi sicut laici. Hoc quoque probrosum in eis videbatur, quod viri et mulieres simul ambulabant in via, et plerumque simul manebant in una domo, ut de eis diceretur, quod quandoque simul in lectulis accubabant. Quæ tamen omnia ipsi asserebant ab Apostolis descendisse. Ceterum dominus Papa in loco illorum exsurgentes quosdam alios, qui se appellabant pauperes minores confirmavit, &c." (Ursperg. Chron. ed. 1540. p. 331.)

The fact that the original Waldenses had applied to the Pope for protection, is also noticed incidentally, and used against them as an *argumentum ad hominem* by Moneta, a writer of the thirteenth century: "Vos venistis a Valdesio," he says, "Dicatis unde ipse venit. Constat, quod non nisi a Papa Romanæ ecclesiæ. Ergo Papa est solus hæres ecclesiæ primitivæ. Si autem dicat, quod non sit a Papa : ad quid ergo venit ad Papam, et promisit servare iv. doctores,

scil. Ambrosium, Augustinum, Gregorium, et Hieronymum, et sic accepit a Papa prædicationis officium? Cujus rei testimonium facile potest inveniri." Monetæ Summa adv. Catharos et Valdenses, lib. v. c. 1, edited by Thom. August. Ricchini, Romæ, 1743, fol. p. 402, (quoted by Gieseler, Period III. Abschn. iii. c. 7, § 86, p. 557.)

With respect to the date of this attempt on the part of the Vaudois to obtain the papal sanction for their sect, it is obvious that it must have taken place before the year 1183, when Lucius III. issued his decree against the Humiliati and Pauperes de Lugduno^m; and if we are to credit Walter Mapes, Archdeacon of Oxford in 1210, the application was made to Alexander III. at the third Lateran council, A. D. 1179, at which Mapes was himself present, and where he actually disputed with their leaders. He says, "Vidimus in Concilio Romano sub Alexandro Papa III. celebrato, Valdesios, homines idiotas illiteratos, (a primate ipsorum Valde dictos, qui fuerat civis Lugduni super Rhodanum :) qui librum Domino Papæ præsentaverunt lingua conscriptum Gallica, in quo textus et glossa Psalterii plurimorumque legis utriusque librorum continebatur. Hi multa petebant instantia, prædicationis auctoritatem sibi confirmari: quia periti sibi videbantur, cum vix essent scioli." He then gives the following curious account of his disputation (if disputation it may be called) with the Waldensian emissaries. "Ego multorum millium qui vocati fuerunt minimus, deridebam eos, quòd super eorum petitione tractatus fieret vel dubitatio: vocatusque à quodam magno Pontifice, cui et ille maximus Papa confessionum curam injunxerat, conjeci sagittam ad signum; multisque legis peritis et prudentibus ascitis, deducti sunt ad me duo Valdesii, qui suâ videbantur in sectâ præcipui, disputaturi mecum de fide; non amore veritatis inquirendæ, sed ut, me convicto, clauderetur os meum quasi loquentis

^m Concil. (Labbe et Cossart,) tom. x. col. 1737.

iniqua. Timidus fateor sedi, ne (peccatis exigentibus) in concilio tanto mihi gratia negaretur sermonis. Jussit me Pontifex experiri adversus eos, qui respondere parabam. Primò igitur proposui levissima, quæ nemini licet ignorare; sciens quòd asino cardones edente, dignam habent labra lactucam. Creditis in Deum Patrem? responderunt: Credimus. Et in Filium? responderunt: Credimus. Et in Spiritum sanctum? responderunt: Credimus. Iteravi: In matrem Christi? et illi item: Credimus; et ab omnibus multiplici sunt clamore derisi; confusique recesserunt, et merito, quia a nullo regebantur, et rectores appetebant fieri, Phaetontis instar, qui nec nomina novit equorum. Hi certa nusquam habent domicilia, bini et bini circumeunt, nudi pedes, laneis induti, nihil habentes, omnia sibi communia tanquam Apostoli, nudi nudum Christum sequentes: humillimo nunc incipiunt modo, quia pedem inferre nequeunt; quos si admiserimus expellemur." De nugis curialium; (ap. Ussher. De Christ. Eccles. success. et statu. p. 220.)

Here it is evident that the object of the facetious arch-deacon was simply to hold up these poor men to ridicule, which he could hardly have done if a serious charge of heresy had been brought against them. But Romanists, at least the Romanists of the present day, will not, I presume, be disposed to brand with this odious name the confession of the Vaudois pastors, that they believed in the mother of Christ. It is evident also from what Mapes says of going about two by two with naked feet, that he wrote before the institution of the mendicant orders.

Another writer of the same period, Stephen de Borbone, sometimes called Stephen de Bellavilla, from the town of Beaujeu near Lyons, of which he was a native, gives a somewhat different version of the appearance of the Vaudois at the council; but still it is quite clear that he means the third Lateran council: he says, "Ii ergo, Waldensis scilicet et sui, primo ex præsuntione et officii Apos-

tolici usurpatione ceciderunt in inobedientiam, demum in contumaciam, demum in excommunicationis sententiam. Post expulsi ab illa terra ad concilium quod fuit Romæ ante Lateranense vocati, et pertinaces fuerunt, schismatici postea judicati. Postea in Provinciæ terra et Lombardiæ cum aliis hæreticis se admiscentes, et errorem eorum bibentes et serentes, heretici sunt judicati Ecclesiæ infestissimi, hæretici infectissimi et periculosissimi, ubique discurrentes, speciem sanctitatis et fidei prætendentes, veritatem autem ejus non habentes, tanto periculosiores quanto occultiores, se sub diversis hominum habitibus et artificiis transfigurantes." (See the extract from his book *De septem donis Spiritus Sancti*, quoted by Echard from the Sorbonne MS. Script. Dominic. tom. i. p. 192, and by D'Argentre Du Plessis, *Collectio Judiciorum de novis erroribus*, tom. i. p. 85. sq.) He wrote his book, as appears from internal evidence, about the year 1225, so that the Lateran council to which he alludes must have been the fourth, and the "concilium quod fuit Romæ ante Lateranense" must therefore have been the third. However, as he wrote six-and-forty years after the event, and the Vaudois in the mean time had changed their character, he may have been easily mistaken as to their having been called before the council. However, he does not say that they were then, but "*postea* schismatici judicati."

The anonymous treatise, "*De hæresi pauperum de Lugduno*," published by Martene and Durand, (*Thesaurus Novus Anecdotor.* tom. v. col. 1777,) mentions Innocent III. as the Pope to whom the Vaudois applied; but as Innocent did not become Pope until 1198, fifteen years after the excommunication of the Vaudois by Pope Lucius, there is probably a mistake of the name; nor is it very difficult to guess how such a mistake may have arisen; we have seen that many writers have associated the rejection of the Vaudois, with the approbation vouchsafed to the

orders of Francis and Dominick, and as this latter event took place in 1206 under Innocent III. it was not unnatural that the former should also be assigned by a hasty writer to the same pontificate. With this single exception, the account given by the anonymous author referred to, agrees with the other authorities, and deserves to be here quoted.

“Ortus illius sectæ quæ dicitur *Pouvre de Lyon*, sive *Pauperes de Lugduno*, sicut a diversis audiui, et a quibusdam ipsorum qui videntur ad fidem reversi, dum eorum interessem examinationibus, sic fertur habuisse. Apud Lugdunum fuerunt quidam simplices laici, qui quodam spiritu inflammati, et super ceteros de se præsumentes, jactabant se velle omnino vivere secundum evangelicam doctrinam, et illam ad litteram perfecte servare : postulantes a domino papa INNOCENTIO III., hanc vivendi formam auctoritate sua sibi et suis sequacibus confirmari : adhuc recognoscentes primatum apud ipsum residere apostolicæ potestatis. Postea cœperunt ex se, ut plenius se Christi discipulos et apostolorum successores ostentarent, et etiam sibi prædicationis officium jactanter assumere, dicentes Christum præcepisse discipulis suis evangelium prædicare, et quia sensu proprio verba evangelii interpretari præsumserunt, videntes nullos alios evangelium juxta litteram servare, quod se facere velle jactaverunt, se solos Christi veros imitatores esse dixerunt. Cumque ecclesia videret eos officium prædicationis usurpare, quod eis commissum non fuerat, cum essent idiotæ et laici, prohibuit, ut debuit, et nolentes obedire excommunicavit. Illi autem contemserunt in hoc claves ecclesiæ, dicentes clericos hoc facere per invidiam, quia viderent eos meliores se esse, et melius docere, et majorem ex hoc favorem populi habere, cum pro bono et perfecto opere nullus debeat aut possit excommunicari, quale est docere fidem et doctrinam Christi, et quod contra ejus doctrinam nullus debeat homini dictum bonum prohibenti aliquatenus obedire, et illam excommunicationem

reputabant sibi esse æternam benedictionem, gloriantes se apostolorum successores, quod sicut illi pro doctrina evangelii a Scribis et Pharissæis extra synagogas ejecti, maledictioni eorum et persecutioni subjacebant: ita et ipsi a clericis similia paterentur; sic superba præsumptio palliatæ sanctitatis et a sanctitate singularitatis cœcitatem induxit hæreticæ pravitatis, cum evangelica perfectio magis doceat humiliter obedire doctoribus et rectoribus ecclesiæ, **quam per tumorem singularitatis se scindere a catholica unitate.**"

From all these authorities, it appears that no accusation of heresy, least of all of Manichæism, was brought against the original Vaudois by their contemporaries; and this is the more remarkable, because, at the third Lateran council, at which the Vaudois appeared to make their application to the Pope, the Cathari, Patrini, and Publicani of Gascony, Albigesium, and Thoulouse, were condemned by an express canon ⁿ.

At a later period, it is true, the Waldenses, or certain sects among them, agreed more nearly with the Albigensian heretics in denouncing the Roman Church as Babylon, and in inculcating the necessity of an absolute separation from its communion. But this doctrine, in its origin, had no connexion with any professed attempt to interpret prophecy, and was put forward by its Albigensian and Waldensian advocates on very different grounds. The Albigenses appear to have deduced from Manichæan principles the assertion that the Church of Rome was the Church of the malignant deity, or the synagogue of Satan; while the Waldenses rested their anathema on a denial of the right of the Pope to excommunicate them for heresy, and on the position that the Church of Rome, or its clergy, had lost their spiritual powers from the period in which they consented to receive an endowment of temporal possessions; that is to say, from the times of Pope Sylvester.

ⁿ Concil. Later. III. can. xxvii. (Labbe et Cossart, tom. x. col. 1522.)

A very few examples will be sufficient to exhibit this remarkable difference between the two sects in their denunciation of the Church of Rome.

And first, for the opinions of the Albigenses, it will be enough to quote from the book of sentences of the Inquisition of Thoulouse°, (A. D. 1307—1323,) the following extract from the sentence pronounced upon Peter Auterius, a *heretic*, that is an Albigensian, in which his doctrine respecting the Church of Rome is clearly referred to a Manichæan origin: “¶ *Duas quoque confingis ecclesias, unam benignam, quam dicis esse sectam tuam et ecclesiam Jesu Christi, eamque habere fidem in qua omnis et sine qua nullus pervenit ad salutem; aliam vero malignam, Romanam ecclesiam, quam esse dicis inpudenter matrem fornicationum, et basilicam dyaboli, et sathane sinagogam, quæ revera est mater omnium fidelium et magistra, cujus omnes gradus et ordines ac ejus ordinationes et statuta proquaciter depravas menciendo, omnesque qui fidem ejus sequuntur et tenent versa vice apellas hereticos et errantes, nec aliquem posse salvari in fide Romane ecclesie tam nephande quam inpie dogmatizas.*” Fol. 40. (Limborch, *Hist. Inquisit.* ad fin. p. 92.)

Here we perceive, that, in addition to the Manichæan principle of a twofold Church, corresponding to the benevolent and malignant deity, the prophecies of the Revelation appear to have been also appealed to, and applied to the Church of Rome by the heretics. This is also mentioned as

° This valuable document, the original of which is now preserved in the British Museum, was first published by Limborch, at the end of his *History of the Inquisition*. (Amst. fol. 1692.) Mr. Maitland has already drawn the attention of the English public to the great importance of the Book of Sentences, as one of the most authentic records we possess of the proceedings taken against the Albigensian and Waldensian sects, and a valuable source of information respecting their opinions. (Facts and Documents, sect. viii. p. 212. sq.)

characteristic of them by Peter of Vaux Sernai, who says, speaking of the Albigensian sects, “Fere totam Romanam ecclesiam speluncam latronum esse dicebant, et quia ipsa est meretrix illa de qua legitur in Apocalypsi^p.” This was written within the first fifty years of the thirteenth century.

Of the corresponding opinion of the Waldenses, it is not easy to trace the historical progress, especially as different views appear to have been entertained upon this subject by the ultra and cis-alpine Vaudois.

The most common, and perhaps the earliest form of their doctrine is exhibited in the assertion, that they were not subject to the authority of the Pope, nor bound to submit to the decrees or anathemas of the Roman bishops. This at least is all that is charged against John Brayssan, a Waldensian, in the sentence pronounced against him by the Inquisitors of Thoulouse: (Cod. Tolosan, fol. 96, Limborch, p. 207.) “Quoniam evidenter et legitime nobis constat, tam per testes in inquisitione receptos, quam per illa que vidimus ac ex ore tuo audivimus, ac ex inquisitionis officio incumbenti nobis, examinavimus diligenter, quod tu Johannes brayssan filius quondam Ponceti baudeti captus et deprehensus in illa heresi que dicitur secta Valdensium seu pauperum de Lugduno, quam sacrosancta Romana ecclesia mater omnium et magistra, dudum tanquam hereticam condempnavit, et eam tanquam vere talem persequitur et condempnat, tu dictam sectam hæreticam a multis retro annis tenere et servare cepisti, et eandem servas et tenes ac approbas et commendas, cujus secte devii sectatores et servatores prophani, ex quorum numero te esse fateris, false et impie dogmatizant se non esse subjectos Romano pontifici nec prelatiſ Romane ecclesie, asseverantes se non posse excommunicari ab eodem Romano pontifice nec ab

^p Petri Mon. cœnobii vallium Cernaii Hist. Albigensium, c. ii. (ap. Du Chesne, Hist. Franc. Script. tom. v. p. 556.)

aliis prelatiſ eccleſie, nec debere pape ſeu Romano pontifici obedire precipienti ſeu mandanti ipſiſ ſectatoribuſ dicte ſecte quod ipſam tanquam dampnatam per eccleſiam deſerant et abjurent, quin immo ex adverſo temerarie aſſerunt ipſam ſanctam Romanam eccleſiam peccare et contra ipſoſ agere indebite et injuſte quia ipſoſ perſequitur et condempnat.”

Again, in the ſentence of John Chauoat, the Inquiſitorſ ſay (Cod. Tolosan. fol. 129, Limborch, p. 263.) “¶ Prefate ſiquidem ſecte et heretiſ Valdenſium devii ſectatoreſ, et profani profeſſoreſ tenent et dogmatizant ſe non eſſe ſubjectoſ domino pape ſeu Romano pontifici, nec aliis prelatiſ Romane eccleſie, quia eoſ injuſte perſequitur et condempnat. ¶ Item aſſeverant ſe non poſſe excommunicari ab eiſdem Romano pontifice et prelatiſ, nec eſſe obediendum alicui ex eiſdem precipienti ſeu mandanti ſectatoribuſ et profeſſoribuſ dicte ſecte quod ipſam deſerant et abjurent, quanquam per Romanam eccleſiam velut heretica ſit dampnata.”

The Waldenſeſ are alſo accuſed of cenſuring the prelateſ of the Roman Church for having corrupted evangelical truth, and abandoned apoſtolical poverty⁴, and they are ſaid, moreover, to have maintained that the Church of Rome waſ *the houſe of a lie*. Thus, in the ſentence laſt quoted, (fol. 129, l. Limborch, p. 264.) “¶ Item prelatiſ

⁴ A ſpecimen of their reaſoning on this point iſ given in the anonymous treatiſe “De hæreſi pauperum de Lugduno.” (Mart. et Durand. Theſ. Nov. Anecd. tom. v. 1783.) “Primo ergo docent qualeſ eſſe debent Chriſti diſcipuli ex verbis evangeliſ et apoſtolorum, dicenteſ tantum eſſe illoſ apoſtolorum ſucceſſoreſ qui eorum vitam ſequuntur. Ex hoc arguendo inferunt, quod papa et epiſcopi noſtri et clerici, qui divitiſ ſeculi habent, et ſanctitateſ apoſtolorum non imitantur, nec ſint eccleſiæ gubernatoreſ, nec talibuſ dignetur Chriſtuſ dilectam ſponſam ſuam eccleſiam committere, qui potiuſ proſtituant eam malis exempliſ et malis operibuſ, quam virginem caſtam Chriſto exhibeant cuſtodiendo eam in illa puritate quam accepit ab ipſo, et ideo eiſ non eſſe obediendum.”

Romane ecclesie detrahentes statum eorum reprobant et condemnant dicentes eos esse cecos et duces cecorum et non servare evangelii veritatem nec sequi apostolicam paupertatem. ¶ Ipsamque Romanam ecclesiam domum esse mendacii mordaciter menciuntur."

Here we see as yet no application made of the prophecies to the Church of Rome. The grounds upon which the Pope and the prelates are condemned, appear to have been derived rather from their abandonment of what Waldo considered the apostolical rule of poverty, than from the supposition that they had been denounced in prophecy. Hence, in allusion to the fable of Constantine's donation, the Waldenses commonly asserted that the bishops and clergy of the Roman Church had lost their power from the times of Pope Sylvester. For example, in the poem, entitled "*La nobla Leyczon*," commonly supposed to be Waldensian, and which professes to have been written at the beginning of the thirteenth century^r, this opinion is thus alluded to:

^r Leger and his followers have fixed upon the year 1100 as the date of the Noble Lesson, from the lines that occur near its commencement :

"Benha mil et cent an compli entierement
Que fo scripta lora, que sen al denier temp."

Which Morland translates thus, (p. 99 :) :

"There are already *a thousand and one hundred years fully accomplished,*

Since it was written thus, *For we are in the last time.*"

But, even supposing that there has been no fraud practised in this claim to antiquity, (which the exposure of similar claims in other pretended Waldensian MSS. give us some grounds for suspecting,) we are surely not justified in counting these 1100 years from the birth of Christ : they allude more naturally to the date of St. John's Epistle, and lead us therefore to the end of the twelfth, or more probably to the beginning of the thirteenth century. This is confirmed by the manifest allusion contained in the following passage to the doctrine of the Abbot Joachim, who foretold that there should be a new dispensation to supersede the Christian Church, as Christianity superseded Judaism.

“ Mas yo auso dire, car se trabo en ver
 Que tuit li Papa que foron de Salvestre entro en aquest,
 E tuit li Cardinal, e tuit li Vesque, e tuit li Aba, tuit
 a questi en semp,
 Non han tant de poesta de dever assolver qui illi poy-
 san perdonar
 A nenguna creatura pur un pecca mortal^s. ”

After describing three laws given by God to man, viz., Reason, the Law of Moses, and the Christian faith, the author says:

“ Autre ley daici enant non d'uen plus haver
 Si non ensegre Jesu X^t efar lo seo bon placzer
 Egardar form^t czo quel ha commenda
 E esser mot avisa del temp d'lantexpt
 Q^e nos non crean ni ason fait, ni ason dit,
 Car segont lescriptura son ara fait moti antixpt
 Car Antix^t son tuit aq'llh que contrastan axpt. ”

I quote this from the Dublin MS., as it has been given rather incorrectly by Morland, (p. 119,) who is copied by Mr. Gilly. (Narrative, App. No. II. p. li. lii.) It will be observed that the author speaks of Antichrist as still future, and evidently not in the sense which Mede tells us was, at this time, the characteristic doctrine of the Vaudois. It is curious that Leger, in the extract he gives from the Noble Lesson, has omitted all that relates to the three laws, and has altered the line in which Antichrist is mentioned in the above extract, thus, (p. 30:)

“ E esser mot avisa a fuire l'Ante-Xrist, ”

although Morland had given it thus:

“ E esser mot avisa cant venrè lente-Xrist. ”

It is plain, therefore, that the Noble Lesson has been tampered with; even if it could be proved to have been in its original form a genuine Waldensian production of the age to which it pretends. The Dublin MS. is on paper, and was written in the beginning of the sixteenth century.

* Leger, Hist. des Vaudois, p. 29. Gilly, Narrative, App. No. II. p. 1. Hence the Vaudois maintained that their own sect had existed from the times of Pope Sylvester, in order apparently to avoid the consequence that the true Church had been extinct for 800 years. This pretence is noticed by Reinerius, (contra Wald. cap. iv.) “Aliqui

This opinion is also distinctly mentioned by Reinerius Saccho, in his summary of the Waldensian doctrine, (*Contra Wald. c. v. Bibl. Pat. tom. xxv. p. 265, Lugd. 1677.*) “*Primo dicunt quod Romana ecclesia non sit ecclesia Jesu Christi, sed sit ecclesia malignantium : et quod defecerit sub Sylvestro, quando venenum temporalium infusum est in Ecclesiam ;*” and again, their sixth error he thus describes, “*Sextus, quod Romana ecclesia sit meretrix in Apocalypsi, propter superfluum ornatum, quem ecclesia Orientalis non curat.*”

How far Reinerius, who was himself originally a Catharist^t, was here confounding Albigenian notions with those

enim dicunt quod duraverit [secta Leonistarum] a tempore Sylvestri ; aliqui, a tempore apostolorum.” (*Bibl. Pat. tom. xxv. p. 264 ;*) and Petrus de Pilichdorf, a writer of the fourteenth century, says, “*Ortus et origo Waldensium hæreticorum talis est ; licet iniquitatis filii coram simplicibus mentiantur dicentes, sectam eorum durasse a temporibus Sylvestri Papæ, quando videlicet ecclesia cœpit habere proprias possessiones, &c.*” *Contra Wald. cap. i. (Bibl. Pat. tom. xxv. p. 278.)* It cannot but create some presumption against this testimony of the Vaudois to their own antiquity, especially when unsupported by any other authority, to find it thus manifestly connected with their doctrine of the unlawfulness of temporal possessions. The opinion that the temporalities of the Church had deprived the clergy of their spiritual powers, or of their apostolical succession, was probably of an origin much later than the times of Peter Waldo : and it is remarkable that in the MS. copy of the Noble Lesson in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, the words “*de Salvestre*” do not occur in the passage above quoted.

^t Reinerius, the author of the work here referred to, is commonly supposed to be the same person as Reinerius Saccho of Placentia, who is mentioned by Antonius Senensis as an inquisitor general. (See Echard *Scriptores ord. prædic. tom. i. p. 154.*) To this Mr. Maitland objects that the *Liber contra Waldenses* published by Gretzer, and in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, is occupied in details respecting the diocese of Passau, that the heretics who infested Germany are more particularly described, and are represented as talking German, and translating the Scriptures into that language. Hence it would seem that its author

of the Waldenses, I shall not venture to decide: the use of the phrase "*ecclesia malignantium*," and the allusion to the Eastern Church, are apparently more in accordance with the opinions of the Cathari and other Manichæan sects, who were certainly of oriental origin; and I am not aware that any such strong assertion as that the Roman Church was the harlot of the Apocalypse, is attributed to a Waldensian in the Book of Sentences.

This opinion, however, is expressly attributed to the Vaudois by the anonymous author of the treatise "*De hæresi pauperum de Lugduno*," published by Martene and Durand. "*Hæc fuit prima hæresis eorum, contemptus ecclesiasticæ potestatis. Ex hoc traditi satanæ, præcipitati sunt ab ipso in errores innumeros et antiquorum hæreticorum errores suis adinventionibus miscuerunt. Quia ejecti sunt de ecclesia Catholica, se solos esse Christi discipulos affirmant. Dicunt se apostolorum successores, et habere auctoritatem apostolicam, et claves ligandi et solvendi. Romanam ecclesiam dicunt esse meretricem Babilon, et omnes ei obedientes damnari. Omnes clericos et eis obedientes a tempore B. Silvestri papæ dicunt esse damnatos.*" (Thes. Nov. Anecd. tom. v. 1779.) So also Stephen de Borbone, mentions the same doctrine as one of the errors of the Waldenses: "*Item dicunt ecclesiam Romanam Babylon meretricem de qua legitur Apocal. xvii.*" (Quoted by D'Argentre; Collect. judicior. de novis erroribus. tom. i. p. 89.)

was connected with Germany rather than with Italy. ("Remarks on that part of the Rev. J. King's pamphlet entitled 'Maitland not authorized to censure Milner,' which relates to the Waldenses. By the Rev. S. R. Maitland." pp. 29, 30. Lond. [Rivingtons,] 1836.) But, in the "*Summa fratris Renerii*," published by Martene and Durand, in a passage which I shall have occasion to quote, (p. 448,) the "*pauperes de Lugduno*" are termed *Ultramontani*, in opposition to the "*pauperes Lombardi*." This looks as if the author of the *Summa* was then living on the Italian side of the Alps.

It would seem however, as I have said, that there was a difference of opinion on this subject between two principal families of the Vaudois. The "poor men of Lyons" appear to have retained the original and moderate doctrine of their founder, while the "poor men of Lombardy" adopted the opinion that the Church of Rome was become utterly apostate, and was foretold in the Apocalypse as the whore of Babylon. This at least is the statement of Mosheim on the authority of Moneta; his words are, "Erat tamen inter hos *Waldenses* dissensionis aliquid, præsertim inter *Italos* seu *Lombardos*, et *Ultramontanos* seu in *Gallia* et aliis *Europæ* provinciis versantes. Illi *Romanam ecclesiam* pro vera *Christi ecclesia*, valde corrupta licet, habebant, septem ejus sacramenta valida esse confitebantur, atque perseveraturos se in ejus communione esse, spondebant, si suo ipsis more vivere liceret: Hi vero *Romanam ecclesiam* a Christo plane defecisse, Spiritu S. carere, et meretricem illam esse, cujus Johannes meminit, *Babylonicam*, adseverabant." (Institt. Hist. Eccles. sæc. xii. part ii. c. v. § 13.) For this he quotes *Monetæ summa contra Catharos et Valdenses*, p. 406, 416, a reference which I have not had an opportunity of verifying, but the statement seems fully confirmed by some documents which have been published by Martene et Durand, in the *Thesaurus novus Anecdotorum*, tom. v., from which I shall therefore now proceed to give a few extracts.

And first, as we have just been speaking of Reinerius, I shall begin with what he says in his "Summa de Catharis et Leonistis seu Pauperibus de Lugduno," which seems to have been the original from which the larger work "Liber contra Waldenses," published by Gretzer in the *Bibliotheca patrum*, was formed by subsequent additions^u. In

^u First published by Gretzer, Ingolstadt, 1614, as I learn from Martene and Durand, (Thes. Anecd.) tom. v. p. 1759, and afterwards

the following passage it will be seen that the extreme doctrine about the Church of Rome being the church of

inserted in all the editions of the *Bibl. Patrum* : it is printed also in the collected edition of Gretzer's works, tom xii. part ii. Ratisb. 1738. Car. du Plessis D'Argentré in his *Collect. Judicior. de novis erroribus*, (tom. i. p. 47,) has shewn, from internal evidence, that the first part of the *Summa* which relates to the Cathari, was written in the year 1230, the second part, relating to the Waldenses, in the year 1250, and that the book published by Gretzer was probably a subsequent compilation; "*Postea Reinerius alio modo hanc summam disposuit sicut in editione Gretzeri cernitur, et multa addidit ut summam suam perficeret.*" This he shews, by a comparison of the passage in the *Summa*, where the date is expressed, with the corresponding passage of the larger work; the *Summa* says, "*quas omnes [opiniones] Cathari Albanenses habebant annis Domini currentibus mille et ducentis, usque ad annos Domini currentes mille ducentos et triginta;*" which, in Gretzer's edition, is altered into "*quas omnes Cathari antiquiores habebant in annis Domini currentibus 1230.*" So that the year 1230 must have been long passed when this was written. If what has been said, note ^c, p. 444, be of any weight, it would seem that the additions made to the work were inserted in especial reference to the heretics of Germany. I am disposed to believe that the *Summa* was intended as a sort of manual for the use of the Inquisitors. At least it is to be found in a very curious MS. volume, written early in the fourteenth century, now preserved amongst Archb. Ussher's MSS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, (Class C. Tab. 5, No. 19,) which contains a collection of statutes, bulls, and other documents relating to the conduct of inquisitors and the mode of examining and dealing with heretics. This volume is evidently one of the books drawn up in accordance with the laws first issued by Innocent IV., in 1252, and afterwards confirmed by Alexander IV. (1255,) and Clement IV. (1265.) One of these laws (*Lex. xxxviii.*) enjoins "*Porro hæc omnia statuta, seu consuetudines et leges et si quæ aliæ contra hæreticos et eorum complices, tempore aliquo auctoritate sedis apostolicæ conderentur, in quatuor voluminibus unius tenoris debeant contineri; quorum unum sit in statuario communi cujuslibet civitatis, secundum apud Diocesenum, tertium apud Fratres Prædicatores, quartum apud Fratres minores, cum omni sinceritate serventur, ne possint per falsarios in aliquo violari.*" (*Bullar. Rom. ed. Coque-lines. Tom. iii. part i. pp. 327, 359.*) There is reason to believe, as I have said, that the MS. to which I allude is one of the collections of

malignants, the beast and harlot of the apocalypse, is attributed to the *Pauperes Lombardi* only, and that the reference to the Eastern Church is omitted. I have collated it, as it is printed by Martene and Durand (*Thes. Anecd.* tom. v. 1775,) with the MS. preserved in the University Library, and as some of the variations are important, I have inserted such words as are added in the Dublin MS., within brackets, and words omitted I have printed in italics.

“Supradictum est sufficienter de hæresi Catharorum, nunc dicendum est de hæresi Leonistarum seu Pauperum de Lugduno. Dividitur autem [hæc] hæresis in duas partes. Prima pars vocatur *Pauperes Ultramontani*; secunda vero *Pauperes Lombardi*. *Et isti descenderunt ab illis*. Primi, scilicet *Pauperes Ultramontani* dicunt quod omne juramentum est prohibitum in novo Testamento tamquam mortale peccatum. Et illud idem dicunt de justitia sæculari, scilicet quod non licet Regibus [et] Principibus et Potestatibus punire malefactores.

“Item, quod simplex laicus potest consecrare Corpus Domini, credo etiam quod idem dicant de mulieribus, quia hæc non *nisi* negaverunt [mihi.]

“Item, quod Ecclesia Romana non est Ecclesia Jesu Christi.

“*Pauperes Lombardi* concordant cum primis in juramento et justitia sæculari. De corpore vero Domini

statutes, customs, and laws drawn up in conformity with this regulation: and as the *Summa* of Reinerius, (together with almost all the other tracts relating to the same subject, published by Martene and Durand,) occurs in it, it may, I think, be inferred that these works were compiled for the use of the inquisitors, or at least that they were considered as containing, if not the “statuta,” at least the “consuetudines,” to which the papal bull referred. The “*Summa fratris Renarii*” corresponds, in its matter, with the fourth, fifth, and sixth chapters of the “*Liber contra Waldenses*,” published by Gretzer.

sentiunt *etiam* pejus quàm primi dicentes, quod concessum est cuilibet homini sine peccato mortali [existenti] consecrare illud.

“ Item, dicunt quod Ecclesia Romana est Ecclesia malignantium, et bestia et meretrix, quæ leguntur in Apocalypsi; et ideo *dicunt* nullum esse peccatum in quadragesima et sextis feriis contra præceptum Ecclesiæ comedere carnes, dummodo fiat sine scandalo *aliorum* ^v.

“ Item, quod Ecclesia Christi permansit in Episcopis et aliis prælatis usque ad B. Silvestrum, et in eo defecit quousque ipsi eam restaurarunt: tamen dicunt quod semper fuerunt aliqui qui Deum timebant et salvabantur.

“ Item, dicunt quod infantes salvantur ^v sine baptismo.”

The same division of the sect into the *Pauperes de Lugduno*, and the *Pauperes Lombardi* is recognized in an anonymous account of their opinions, published at the end of the “*Disputatio inter Catholicum et Paterinum hereticum*,” (ap. Martene et Durand. *Thesaur. novus anecd. tom. v. col. 1754.*) In the Dublin MS. this is headed, “*Quatuordecim errores communes pauperibus Lombardis et pauperibus de Lugduno sive citramontanis* ^x.” The fourteen errors common to the two sects are thus described: (the variations

^v This sentence is given in the Dublin MS. thus: “et ideo nullum esse peccatum comedere carnes in quadragesima, et in sextis feriis contra preceptum ecclesiæ, dummodo fiat sine scandalo.”

^v Salvabantur, *Dub. MS.*

^x Here it will be observed that the poor men of Lyons are called *Citramontani*, whereas in the *Summa* of Reinerius they were called *Ultramontani*. This account, therefore, must have been written by an inquisitor who lived north of the Alps. In the Dublin MS., and also in a MS. preserved at Caen, and another at Clermont, (mentioned by D'Argentrè, *Collect. judicior. de novis erroribus*, tom. i. p. 56,) this document is given as an appendix to the *Summa* of Reinerius; in the edition of Martene and Durand it appears in connexion with the “*Disputatio inter Catholicum et Paterinum*.”

of the Dublin MS. from the text of Martene and Durand, are marked as before.)

“ In hoc concordant Pauperes de Lugduno cum pauperibus Lombardis contra Ecclesiam, scilicet quod Papa Silvester et Laurentius martyr non sunt sancti.

“ Item, quod Ecclesia Romana, tenendo cursum quem tenet, non est Ecclesia Christi, sed Ecclesia maligna^y.

“ Item, quod non est purgatorium.

“ Item, quod [homo] non meretur visitando sepulcra sanctorum, nec adorando crucem, nec ædificando ecclesias, nec faciendo orationes, vel eleemosynas pro mortuis et missas.

“ Item, quod [non] est salus aliquo modo jurando.

“ Item, quod non licet justitiam corporalem *malefactorum* facere.

“ Item, quod non est peccatum omni die anni comedere carnes, ova, aut caseum, nisi fortè propter scandalum.

“ Similiter si homo acciperet sororem suam vel consanguineam in uxorem.

“ Item, credunt quod à beato Clemente citra exclusivè, nullus successit B. Petro Apostolo aut Lino vel Clementi, qui haberet potestatem ligandi vel solvendi usque ad Don Valdensem^z.

“ Item, credunt quod Silvester pāpa instinctu diaboli fuerit ædificator Ecclesiæ Romanæ primus.”

The next paragraph seems to describe the peculiar tenets of the Pauperes Lombardi:—

“ Pauperes Lombardi credunt quod malus sacerdos non possit consecrare corpus [Jesu] Christi, nec Deus ad preces illius.

“ Item, quod animæ sunt ex traduce.

“ Item, quod pueri baptizati à sacerdotibus Ecclesiæ Romanæ non salvantur.”

^y Malignantium, a secunda manu. MS. Dub.

^z Valdensem, MS. Dub.

Then follows an account of the mode of celebrating the Lord's Supper, common to all the Vaudois before the division of the sect ^a, which it is not necessary for our present purpose to quote; after this the peculiar doctrines of the *Pauperes de Lugduno* are described in thirty-three heads; "*Isti sunt errores Valdensium, seu, Insabbatorum, qui etiam Pauperes de Lugduno.*" But it will be enough to quote the articles which state their opinions about the Church of Rome.

"*Vigesimo tertio, quod Romana ecclesia non est caput ecclesiæ.*

"*Vigesimo octavo, quod non debent obedire papæ, ne prædicent, [prædicetur, Dub. MS.]*

"*Trigesimo tertio, quod nullus salvatur, nisi in secta sua, vel eorum.*"

Here then again we see that the extreme doctrines are attributed to the Lombardy Vaudois, whilst the Vaudois of Lyons are represented as having retained the more moderate opinions of their founder. It does not, however, appear from this account, that either party made any reference to prophecy in their denunciations of the Church of Rome, and even the doctrine, said to be common to them both, "*quod ecclesia Romana non est ecclesia Christi, sed ecclesia maligna,*" is qualified by the clause "*tenendo cursum quem tenet;*" which probably alluded to the persecutions then carrying on by Papal authority against these separatists.

On the whole, let the reader now judge how far it is

^a After describing the order of their Eucharist, the writer adds, "*Omnes pauperes utriusque sectæ eundem modum consecrandi tenebant, scilicet prædictam, ante divisionem quæ fuit inter eos.*" Whether this should be interpreted as implying that although they did observe the same order before their separation into two sects, they had different modes of consecrating the elements after that event, does not seem very clear.

fair to represent the denunciation of the Roman Church by the Albigenian and Waldensian sects, as in any tolerable sense an exposition of the prophecies; there is not the slightest reason to believe that the doctrine, put forward undoubtedly by both these sects, that the Roman Church had ceased to be the Church of Christ, was derived from any interpretation of the Apocalypse or any other part of holy Scripture. On the contrary, there is, as we have seen, direct testimony to the fact that the Albigenes derived this opinion from their Manichæan principles, and that the Waldenses deduced it from their doctrine about the unlawfulness of temporal possessions; and it is hard to conceive that from either of these corrupt sources should flow an exposition of holy Scripture, which was to cast a new, and till then unknown light upon the page of prophecy, and produce an entire revolution in the hopes, the fears, and prospects of the Church of God.

It is true, the opinion that the beast or harlot of the Apocalypse was a symbol of the Roman Church, has been attributed to the Vaudois by more than one authority. But we have seen that this doctrine, if it ever became general amongst them, was not only of late origin, the offspring of persecution, but that it was confined in a great measure to the Vaudois of Lombardy, and never, so far as appears, made any progress in the original locality of the sect. I cannot, however, help feeling great doubts whether this application of prophecy was received by any portion of the Waldenses, properly so called, at any period prior to the spread of Joachim's doctrines in the thirteenth century. To suppose it to have been so prominently characteristic of their teaching, as Mede and his followers would persuade the world, seems utterly irreconcilable with the fact that no trace of it occurs in the sentence or accusation of any Waldensian who was examined before the Inquisition of Thoulouse; and we can hardly suppose that if such an opinion had been every

where put forward by the Vaudois from the very beginning of their sect, the inquisitors of the fourteenth century would have omitted all notice of it. In the next note, I shall endeavour to trace this doctrine to another, and a very different sect of heretics, with whom, as I am inclined to believe, it originated, and from whom it easily spread amongst all who were the victims of papal persecution, or who, for any cause whatsoever, were at variance with the See of Rome.



NOTE D.—See LECTURE I. p. 34.

The Fratricelli, and Beguins.

A strange thing it is, but no less strange than true, that the modern doctrine of the prophetic days for years, as well as the general principles of the system of interpretation which has been employed for the purpose of adapting the prophecies of the apocalypse to the Church of Rome, should be found to have originated in the bosom of that Church, and in the speculations of a writer, whose object it was to exalt the Papacy on the ruins of the episcopacy, and of the Catholic Church of Christ,—I allude to the celebrated Joachim, founder of the Florentian order at the close of the twelfth century.

Since the foregoing pages went to press, there have appeared in the British Magazine two essays, entitled, “Antichrist in the thirteenth Century,” in which the history and opinions of the abbot Joachim have been discussed with great learning and ability. To these papers I have much pleasure in referring my readers; they have superseded the collections I had prepared for publication here, and throw great light on the real character and tendency of the abbot’s teaching; they shew also how com-

pletely he had anticipated the principles upon which modern theories of prophetic interpretation have since been built. I shall take the liberty of inserting here one or two extracts from these valuable papers.

And first, with respect to the design of the abbot's system,—his object, as our author describes it, was, “to lay deep and firm the foundations of a plan daring in its conception. That plan was nothing less than to subvert and abolish in toto, should emergencies require it, the apostolic and episcopal Church of Christ. The Abbé Joachim had conceived, and the pontiffs Lucius, Urban, and Clement, his patrons, had cautiously promoted, the idea of setting fire to the church, and leaving to the emperors, their rivals, nothing but its ruins and ashes to triumph over, whilst they raised in its stead a new edifice of priestcraft. It was to consist of the papal supremacy, acting upon a radically regenerated state of society, through the sole medium of monastic orders. That supremacy is to be viewed under two aspects. In the first it exhibits to us an archiepiscopal superiority over the churches of the west, to which more recent encroachment has added a character of universality not originally claimed. That may be considered its quasi canonical aspect, and is the popery of Bossuet. But the same supremacy is by others regarded as a personal vicariate of Christ, from which all ecclesiastical authority flows. The mediatorial influence of a patriarch, the appellate jurisdiction of an archbishop, though universal, and the right of presiding in general councils, would not satisfy the desires of the modern Jesuit, or some of the more ancient Guelfic divines. So long as the Catholic Church enjoys its legitimate organization, so long the scheme of a despotic monarchy ecclesiastical, derived from ‘the Prince of the Apostles,’ must be impracticable, or its success precarious and perilous. That was strongly felt in the contests of those times. The clergy of Europe were neither univer-

sally nor to all lengths of the Guelfic party, nor all agreed to sacrifice their native countries and sovereigns to the ambition of Rome. Imperial Babylon had partisans even among those whom the mystic Jerusalem claimed for her own citizens. These were they of whom^b Joachim complains, 'prelates to whom the government of souls is confided, but who fornicate with *Babylon*, neglecting God's mandate in order to please men.' This is the clue to all his denunciations of bishops and clergymen, and sinister predictions against them, (as Illyricus^c in his conscience must have known,) and to his exclusive praise of the popes and monastic fraternities. He foretold, that while *the Saints* were contending, many of *the clerici*^d would be incredulous to their words, and without openly insulting them, would secretly detract from them. Their defection from true popery, and adherence to the empire, at the close of the second status, and in the generations of transition, were destined to accelerate the triumph of Babylon and the Beast. And be it so, cried the prophetic voice of Joachim. Let Babylon, with the aid of many clerici, men of the expiring status, lay waste the courts of Jerusalem, yet she herself shall perish by the hands of the Bestia Patarena, and of Antichrist; and every remnant of the clerici, or church secular, shall perish likewise; but a remnant of the eremitic order shall survive all tribulations to reign with the Holy Ghost in the third status.

"Nothing can be more entire than the destruction, more total than the impending abolition, threatened by the Calabrian abbot to the Catholic and Apostolic Church, or, as he had taken precaution to say, to its prior and less perfect status. The clergy^e, (he said,) of whom the crucified Peter is the type, shall perish, as he did, in the approach-

^b "See Apoc. 194, a."

^c "Author of the *Catalogus Testium Veritatis*."

^d "See Exp. in Apoc. 151, a."

^e "In Apoc. 142, a."

ing tribulations ; but the contemplative Church, or monachi, of whom St. John is the type, shall remain to defeat the counsels of the heretics, and preach the gospel of the kingdom. The Spirit will then call upon all Christians to come out of the secular Church ^f as out of the house of bondage, '*the secular Egypt.*' The word Egypt seems not only to imply a power temporary and to be overthrown, but one founded in unjust tyranny. The rancour and malevolence with which this monk regarded the ecclesiastical authority is more conspicuous in the following passage :—' The order of the clergy ^g was first begun by Josiah, who, although he was of the tribe of Judah, burnt incense to the Lord, but not with impunity.' So the type of the entire Christian clergy was a man who unlawfully usurped a sacred office to which he had no right, and experienced the divine vengeance for his presumption. This is pretty much in itself. But what shall we think, when we consider that the whole story is a creature of his brain ? Josiah never burnt any incense or did any other sacerdotal act ; and he never experienced the displeasure ^h of God upon any recorded occasion. It is of a piece, that he who blasphemes the Church of God should also 'slander the footsteps of His anointed.' But the fiction bespeaks a mind and temper envenomed with no ordinary hatred. The factious words Guelf and Ghibelline ⁱ may not have been current to the south of the Alps for yet a few years, but the fearful schism between Church and State, of which they

^f "Psalterium, fol. 253."

^g "Concordia Vet. et N. Test. fol. 8, b."

^h "That his death at Megiddo was no sign of God's displeasure is certain from the very remarkable words of Huldah the prophetess, 'Thou shalt be gathered into thy grave in peace.' 2 Kings, xxii. v. ult."

ⁱ "They are said to have originated in Germany about A. D. 1139, but not to have been employed in Italy earlier than 1220."

were anon to become the bloody symbols, was in full existence. The career of Joachim was one of Guelfery overleaping^j all bounds, and absolutely run mad; it was that of a man shrewdly discerning, and most bitterly feeling, that while the canons of the holy church subsisted, the empire would never be entirely subjected to the papacy. It is no wonder that Father Joachim wanted the sanction and patronage of three Popes to encourage him in the publication of his works; no wonder that the See of Rome, in granting it to him, should seek to disclaim for her pontiffs any express knowledge of the contents of his books; and no wonder that the Concordia, of which the perusal by Pope Lucius was a known fact, should be represented as in an unfinished state when he saw it." British Magazine, (November, 1839,) vol. xvi. pp. 494—496.

Secondly, the doctrines put forward by Joachim on the subject of Antichrist are next to be considered; and here again I shall consult the interests of my readers by substituting for the extracts I had intended to make from the Abbot's writings, the following very clear and satisfactory account of his prophetic opinions, in the words of the truly learned writer just quoted. It will be seen that he had completely anticipated the day-year theory:

"1. All his speculations were but as a lever without a fulcrum, unless he could obtain from Scripture some *epoch at which*, not merely *periods during which*, the consummation should happen. Therefore he taught that the period

^j "We must not imagine any change of feelings or purpose from the friendly intercourse betwixt him and Henry of Suabia. Joachim's mind never wavered or relented. His connexion with Henry was merely of a local nature, and arose from his recognizing, as a Calabrian abbot, his own legitimate queen the Empress Constance. No where more strongly than in his writings inscribed to Henry does he denounce the past and coming persecutions of the Papal Church by the house of Hohenstauff, or more clearly predict the destruction of the Alemannic Babylon."

of three times and a half ^k, or of forty-two months, or of twelve hundred and sixty days, signified no less than 1260 years: "Accepto haud dubiè die pro anno, et 1260 diebus ^l pro totidem annis." And he explained the month of thirty days to mean a generation of thirty years. So that the period in question was *quasi* a period of forty-two generations, not by containing that number of actual descents, but by containing the generation of thirty years thus often repeated.

" 2. However, there was really to be a period of three natural years and one-half at the end of the corresponding mystical period; and that will form the especial period of the great Antichrist's tyranny: 'Qualiter anni isti ad totius Bestiæ universitatem pertineant in opere Concordiæ dictum est. Reverâ autem anni tres et dimidiu^m esse creduntur, quibus maximè hæc tempestas desæviet.' They constitute the reign of the regulus, or Daniel's eleventh king ⁿ, and in them 'gravior inducetur vexatio^o.'

" 3. The persecution and tribulations of 1260 years are those of the Church militant from its earliest beginnings—viz., from the nativity of its persecuted founder; and those years are accordingly computed from that great epoch. 'During all that number of years, the holy city is trampled by the nations; because, while that space of time lasts which three years and a half designate, power is given to the infidels to trample the faithful, though partially indeed, and not in toto ^p.' Therefore the epoch of the Church's triumph was to be the year of the blessed nativity, 1260 ^q.

" This opinion of the Calabrian, though falsified by the adversary whose scythe mows down the schemes of modern

^k "See Exp. in Apoc. fol. 9, b. 148, b.; in Hierem. c. 20, p. 285."

^l "Liber Concordiæ, 2, c. 16, and 5, c. 118." ^m "In Apoc. 165, b."

ⁿ "See Exp. in Apoc. fol. 9, b. 143, a.; Liber Concordiæ, 5, c. 112."

^o "In Hieremiam, c. 20."

^p "In Apoc. 148, b."

^q "See Interpr. in Hierem. p. 285."

interpreters one after another, was intrinsically quite as respectable as some we are accustomed to hear.

“ 4. There are three states of the world: the state under the time of the law, the state under the gospel, and the state ‘circa finem sæculi.’ These depths of the Joachitic doctrine must be sounded more carefully by and by.

“ 5. The word *end* in holy Scripture is sometimes to be accepted in a large as well as in a strict sense^r. And between the second or gospel, and the third or final, ‘status mundi,’ there was to occur an interval (common, in some sort, to both states) of two apocalyptic months or generations—i. e. of sixty years. The whole of this time was to be considered as forming both the end of the second status and the beginning of the third; and ‘it is all one whether we say, until the year 1200, or until now, or until the fullness of the Gentiles, and the conversion of Israel,’ for all those are embraced by the word *end* when taken largely. ‘The forty-first generation in the Church is to begin with the year of the Incarnation, 1201^s.’ From A. D. 1200 to 1260 was to be the era of the greatest prolonged affliction ‘of the Church; and the last three years and a half of that period (ranging from July, 1256, to January, 1260) were to be that of the intolerable tyranny, of which the days must be shortened lest all the elect should perish. It was the period of transition.

“ 6. The mystical^u or apocalyptic Jerusalem is the Church of Rome, or Rome considered as the seat of Christ’s holy Church. And the mystical Babylon is the Alemanic Roman empire, or Rome considered as the imperial capital of the house of Suabia and their predecessors, by whom the Roman Church had been, and was to be, oppressed and per-

^r “In Apoc. 9, b.”

^s “Liber Concord. 4, c. 30.”

^t “In Hierem. p. 285.”

^u “In Apoc. fol. 7, b. In regno Latinorum continentur Hierusalem et Babylon. In fol. 24, a, Romana Ecclesia est Spiritualis Hierusalem.”

secuted. During the sixty years of the two generations, 'ab anno 1200 et ultra', the kings of Babylon were to lead the priests and their high-priests into captivity, and take the ark of the Church.

"Babylon (said the Abbé Joachim in his *Liber de Flore**,) shall be the birth-place of Antichrist. And the same person^x told Richard Cœur-de-Lion that Rome was his appointed birth-place. But the civil and imperial Rome, as distinguished from the ecclesiastical, is the Babylon of the Joachite interpretation. Therefore the Jesuits" [in the *Acta SS. ad 29 Maii*] "might have abstained from attacking Roger of Howden. However, it is uncertain whether Joachim appointed the city itself for his place of birth, or merely the empire to which that city lent its name.

"7. In the winter of 1190, Joachim told king Richard that the Antichrist was already born. And here, again, there is no reason to complain of the narrative of the English monk, for that opinion is expressly avowed by him in the Exposition of the Apocalypse, c. ix. v. 11 :—

"'Considering the aspect of the holy Scriptures, and the introitus et exitus concordiarum, I think that he is now present in the world, although the hour for his manifestation be not yet arrived.'

"It is, however, worthy of remark, that if the Antichrist was born before the year 1190, he would be upwards of sixty-six years old in the middle of 1256, when his revelation was to take place. And that, if not an inadmissible, was at least an inconvenient supposition. But we must here distinguish between two uses of the word Antichristus by Joachim and the Joachites. There are the Antichristus^z *mixtus* or *mysticus*, and the Antichristus *verus*. The

* "Præfatio in Hieremiam."

† "Liber de Flore cit. Telesforus Cusentinus, fol. 29, a."

‡ "Rogerus de Hoveden in A. D. 1190." § "Fol. 133, a."

|| "See Rusticianus in Telesforum, fol. 1, a."

mixed, or improper Antichrist, is the manifest prevalence of the Antichristian policy preparing the way for the true kingdom of blasphemy; and the true Antichrist is the Messiah of Satan, reigning the seat of God for three years and a half. The former power is called by Joachim the *Antichristus reipublicæ*^a, and is that which he thought was already born. It was to occupy the same period concerning which Joachim observes that it shall produce, not one Antichrist, or pseudo-propheta, but many^b. It was the beast which (according to him) was destined to subvert the Babylonian empire, to put forth ten horns, to afflict the church during fifty-six years and a half of the two generations of the period of transition; and then at last (*regnantibus decem regibus illis, singulis in suis locis*) to put forth its horn of blasphemy, being the eleventh king, and ‘*Antichristus verus.*’

“Joachim perceived clearly that the bestial empire of which it was a characteristic to contain ten confederated and unanimous kings (*Dan. vii. 7; Rev. xvii. 12, 13*) had not as yet been revealed^c. It was (he thought) about to be revealed, and to replace the then existing Alemannic Babylon. So that the end of the true second, or gospel status, having been afflicted by the Babylon of the house of Hohenstauf, the transition generations were devoted to the horned beast, or empire of the *Antichristus reipublicæ*, and the fatal three and a half years to the eleventh horn.

^a “In Hierem. p. 123.”

^b “In Apoc. fol. 134, a.”

^c “*Bestia quartum regnum erit in mundo, quod majus erit omnibus regnis, et destruet universam terram et comminuet eam. In Apoc. 196, a. De decem cornibus; decem reges sunt qui regnum nondum acceperunt. 156, b. 197, a. Intelligendos esse reges; futuros, hoc est, in illâ extremitate temporis ærumnosi cum regnum bestię finietur. 164, a. Whether the ten-horned empire was the bestia itself, still future, or a future form and predicament of a beast which had long existed, is a point on which the Abbot of Flore does not express himself with perfect consistency.*”

“ The beast of the Joachites is their Babylon ; and yet it is not. It arises out of it, a new form of the same power, ‘ *aliusque et idem nascitur.*’ It subverts, destroys, and ruins the existing dynasties and interests, and thus gives rise to all the menacing denunciations of Joachim against the house of Suabia and the monarchy it is holding— ‘ *Decem cornua et bestia odient fornicariam et desolatam illam facient.*’ But with respect to the mystical Jerusalem, it is the same tyranny embittered. One distinguishing peculiarity of it in Joachim’s system was its usurpation of the pontificate. It was no longer to be a civil and profane power, like the mystic Babylon, making war upon the Church from without; but it was itself to become uncanonically ecclesiastical, and falsely Christian, and, seizing the sword spiritual, was to wound the Church unto death with her own weapons. Without this it would not be an Antichristus of any sort, even mixed and mystical. ‘ Mixed Antichrist (says the Joachite Rusticianus Frater^d) shall be a certain pseudo-pope, of German origin, whom the emperor shall create by force and fraud, which pope shall crown the said emperor, who, together with the said pope, shall overturn and root up the state of Christianity and the Church.’ Whether the pseudo-pope shall unite the civil and ecclesiastical tyrannies in his own person, or only wield the latter in strict union and alliance with the former, the Abbé Joachim will not speak expressly. It shall be the pseudo-pope (he says^e) or thy heir, O Cæsar ! who shall maltreat the universal Church, both in the Latin and in the Greek clergy, and shall cut off its head, the prelates, and shall deride and triumph over tyrants. ‘ Forsitan (he says elsewhere) et pseudo-papa erit fultus Antichristo reipublicæ.’ And it was foretold by him to the king of England, at Messina, that the Antichrist who was then already born

^d “De Magnis Tribulationibus, fol. 5, a.”

^e “In Hierem. p. 329.”

was to be exalted into the apostolic chair of Rome. In the same relation which the Alemannic Babylon, with its Barbarossas, Henrys, &c., filled, with respect to the beast of many horns that was to arise, stood the series of antipopes (Cardinal Octavian, Guy of Crema, &c.) whom the emperors and their party supported against the genuine papacy, to the predicted pseudo-papal Antichrist.

“ 8. Of Antichrist himself, the regulus, or eleventh king, who is to swallow up three kings of the ten-horned beast, and reign as a god in the last reign of terrors, the chief thing that we clearly learn is that his doctrine was to be the Patarene^f. The Patareni were the great sect of heretics who then infested most parts of Europe. They were known by some other names, especially those of Cathari and Publicani, and are now vulgarly known by the merely local, and very improper, appellation of Albigenses, but never receive any other than that of Patareni from the Abbé Joachim. He was enabled to infer this (which seems not unreasonable in its matter, however vain his anticipations as to time have proved) from their doctrines concerning devils, their denial that Christ had come in the flesh, their condemnation of holy matrimony, and their prohibition of those meats which God had created to be received with thanksgiving. ‘ Indeed (says he) we are now enabled to understand, as concerning the end, that what has been cherished ^g among them is quite ready to burst forth into the little king, prope est omnino ut rumpat in regulum.’ And he observes concerning the supreme patriarch, or antipope^h, of the Patareni, that he was actually filling the

^f “ See especially Exp. in Apoc. 130, b. and fol. 133, a.”

^g “ Confotum. Kept alive, as fire is in embers, or any other forms.”

^h “ Nempe et Apostolicum, cui omnes obediunt, se fatentur habere. In Apoc. ubi supra. The seat of this Patarene antipope is described to have been on the borders of Bulgaria, Croatia, and Dalmatia. He

throne of Antichrist before his coming, as David and other kings of Jerusalem had filled that of Christ. Jews as well as Saracens were to join themselves to the eleventh or Patarene king. And in confirmation thereof, as regards the latter nation, he relates an anecdote, the value of which is somewhat uncertain. In 1195, he met at Messina a man who seemed of a prudent and religious character, and who was arrived from Alexandria. This person assured him that he had heard from a man of high rank among the Saracens that the Patarenes had lately sent envoys to them, asking to establish communion and peace with them ; that

died in 1223, and seems to have had no successor ; nor is it an ascertained point that more than one such hæresiarch was ever recognized. He appointed a deputy, one Bartholomew of Carcassonne, to exercise his functions in the parts of Thoulouse, Matth. Paris, in A. D. 1223. The Cardinal of Oporto, papal legate, thought it of sufficient importance to write as follows :—‘ To the venerable father, the Archbishop of Rouen, and his suffragans, &c. The man of perdition who is raised above all that is called God, &c., hath now his hæresiarch going before him, whom the Albigensian heretics call their pope, dwelling in the borders of Bulgaria, Croatia, and Dalmatia, near the Hungarians. To him the other Albigensians resort that he may answer their inquiries ; and a man of Carcassonne, acting as deputy of that antipope, by name Bartholomew, pays him a fatal reverence, and now, quitting his seat and station at the town called Porlos, has removed to the parts of Thoulouse. The said Bartholomew, in his circular letters, begins with this salutation : Bartholomew, a servant of the servants of *the holy faith*, to such a one health and greeting, &c. ; and, among other enormities, he creates bishops, and falsely pretends to ordain churches, &c. Given [at Planium ?] the 6th of the Nones of July.’ See Cæsar Bulæus Hist. Universitatis Parisiensis, tom. iii. p. 112, 13. If this antipope had no predecessors, he must himself have ruled the synagogue of Satan from twenty-six to thirty years. From his seat of government the heretics derived their appellation of Bulgarians, ‘cels de Bolgaria,’ La Crozada, &c., st. 2, p. 4. The death of the Bulgarian patriarch of the Patareni, occurring soon after the year 1223, in which the legate wrote his complaint, is said to have put an end to this spurious hierarchy in Languedoc.”

they returned to Europe with a favourable answer, and were in due season (*cum tempus esset*) to come again with a definite message of unity and peace ¹.

“ The eleventh king, or true Antichrist, will be actually possessed by Satan, of whom he will be the temple¹ and the idol—that is to say, the place of his inhabitation, and the medium of his adoration by mankind. He will invite the Jews to return to the land of their fathers^k, and will assemble them at Jerusalem, declare himself their Saviour, slay the two witnesses, and perform most of the things that are usually imputed to the Antichrist.” *British Magazine*, (October, 1839,) vol. xvi. pp. 370—375.

I shall proceed now to bring forward some authorities in support of the statements I have made (pp. 31—34) respecting the fanatical doctrines of the mendicant orders, and especially of the heretical sects to which the Franciscans gave birth in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

And first, it is to be observed, that the Franciscan and Dominican orders have always been ambitious of connecting themselves with the prophecies of Joachim, and are fond of maintaining that the two famous orders of begging friars were foretold in his writings long before their institution. Thus, for example, Antoninus, in his *Summa*, quotes an exposition given by Joachim of the passage *Zech. xi. 7*: “ *Assumpsi mihi duas virgas; unam appellavi decorem; alteram funiculum, &c.,*” which is in these words: “ *Virgæ duæ sunt duo ordines mendicantium. Virgæ rectæ sanctitatis, exiles et graciles austeritate, percutientes doctrinæ auctoritate. Decor est ordo Prædicatorum per habitum decorum, quasi prælatorum designatus. Funiculus ordo minorum quia funiculo manifesto cinguntur.*” (*Summa*, part iii. tit. 23, c. 1, § 1, quoted by Wadding, *Annales minor. tom. i. p. 14. Romæ, 1731.*) Again, Joachim, in his book,

¹ “In Apoc. 134, a.”

^j “Ibid. 165, a.”

^k “Ibid. 150, b. &c.”

De concordia veteris testamenti, is represented as saying, “*Erunt duo viri, unus hinc, alius inde; qui duo ordines interpretantur; unus Italus et alter Hispanus, et post ipsos duos ordines, veniet alter ordo saccis vestitus, sub cujus tempore apparebit filius iniquitatis, qui dicitur Antichristus.*” And afterwards, “*Brevissimum est tempus ipsius, scilicet tertii ordinis, sicut brevissimi sunt dies Antichristi successoris sui. Ordo enim Minorum, usque ad novissima tempora duraturus, per mare Aquilonare transibit, aspera pascula gustabit. Regina Austri proteget et fovebit eum in amaritudine sua. Flumen Euphratem transibit, et undam et impetum ejus sua prædicatione mitigabit, aspera reducuntur in planum sermone ejus. Terra salsuginis, id est Ægypti, ad Dominum convertetur per eum. In eadem terra secure Evangelium prædicabit; multæ gentes per ipsum Ordinem ad Dominum convertentur. Gens idololatra, cujus lingua ignorabitur, quæ de finibus terræ veniet, missa a Deo in adjutorium terræ promissionis; et ut ipsa agnoscat Deum Patrem omnipotentem, et filium ejus unicum Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, ad fidem catholicam convertetur: futurum est etenim, ut Ordo Minorum viriliter se opponat contra mortis Angelum, et contra eum prædicando. Plures, et maxima multitudo de filiis ipsius Ordinis martyrio ad Dominum transibit, sicut dictum est per David Prophetam: *Posuerunt mortalia servorum tuorum escas volatilibus cæli, carnes sanctorum tuorum bestiis terræ. Gaudebunt in canticis suis, id est, in prædicatione, omnes tribus terræ, et gens immunda Mahometica, quæ remanebit, et hi qui residui erunt ad Dominum convertentur.*” (Quoted by Wadding, *Annal.* tom. i. p. 15.) Wadding adds, “*Plura etiam in Commentariis ad apocalypsim prædixit de ordinibus mendicantibus, quorum veritatem rei probavit eventus.*” The reader may perhaps be of opinion that the “*eventus rei*” more probably gave birth to the prophecy, and that predictions so very explicit, and exhibiting such obvious*

marks of subsequent interpolation, need something more than an agreement with the event to prove their authenticity.

Secondly, I would observe that the great success of the Waldenses, and other reputed heretics of that age, and the popularity of their manner of life and teaching, were facts that were by no means lost upon the founders of the mendicant orders. The vow of poverty, the adoption of the active, in opposition to the monastic life, the employment of preaching, from which the Dominicans took their denomination of "*Fratres Prædicatores*,"—the original title assumed by the Franciscans, "*pauperes minores*,"—nay, the very name of "*fratres*" or "*friars*," which has since become so famous, were all borrowed from the despised and outcast followers of Peter Waldo¹.

But the Franciscans, at a very early period of their history, gave birth to extravagancies of a far more pernicious character than any thing that has been charged upon the Waldenses, by their bitterest enemies. I allude to the fanatical veneration for their founder, which led them to assert that his life was an imitation of the life of JESUS, and that in him were fulfilled many prophecies, especially of the Apocalypse.

The blasphemous fable of the *stigmata* received by St.

¹ See the extracts from the Abbas Urspergensis, quoted above, page 432, and from Paulus Æmilius, *ibid.* note ¹. The grosser accusation brought against the Waldenses in these passages, "*quod viri et mulieres simul ambulabant in via, &c.*," if it was true of them, appears to have been applicable also to the earlier Franciscans, who are said to have revived the ancient gnostic practice reprehended so severely by St. Cyprian, *epist.* 4, (ed. Oxon.) and prohibited by several early councils. For this Gieseler (*Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte* Per. iii. Abschn. 3, cap. 3, § 70,) quotes Raumer's *Geschichte d. Hohenstaufen*. Bd. iii. s. 625, a work to which I have not had an opportunity of referring.

Francis in imitation of our Saviour's wounds, is sufficiently well known. It is thus described by Elias, his contemporary and vicar general, in a letter written to announce the death of St. Francis to all the brethren of the order : " Et his dictis annuncio vobis gaudium magnum, et miraculi novitatem. A seculo non est auditum tale signum, præterquam in filio Dei, qui est Christus Deus. Non diu ante mortem Frater et Pater noster apparuit crucifixus, quinque plagas, quæ vere sunt stigmata Christi, portans in corpore suo : nam manus ejus et pedes, quasi puncturas clavorum habuerunt ex utraque parte confixas, reservantes circatrices, et clavorum nigredinem ostendentes, latus vero ejus lanceatum apparuit, et sæpe sanguinem evaporavit ^m."

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^m This letter is published by Wadding, an. 1226, n. 45, (tom. ii. p. 149.) See also *Acta Sanctorum*, Octob. tom. ii. p. 648. Wadding, an. 1224. n. 10 et seq. (tom. ii. p. 88 et seq.) and the *Life of St. Francis*, by his disciple and contemporary, Thomas de Celano, lib. ii. c. i. n. 94, published by the Bollandists, (*Acta Sanctorum* ubi supr. p. 709.) The legend of the stigmata is supported, and its opposers censured, by the authority of Pope Gregory IX. (in three letters which are given by Wadding, an. 1237. n. 1—4. tom. ii. p. 426 sq.) and of Alexander IV. (*Acta Sanctorum* ubi supra, p. 653, sq.) The accounts of the miraculous infliction of the stigmata, given by contemporary authors, differ widely from each other. It is by no means improbable that Francis, in the frenzy of his extravagant zeal, may have inflicted the five wounds upon himself. Elias does not mention the circumstances of the miracle, but merely says that the stigmata were found upon his body a short time before his death, and it is certain that the infliction of them would be an action quite in character with the whole spirit of his devotion. A peculiar festival, in honour of the stigmata of St. Francis, was instituted by Benedict XI. and confirmed by Paul V. and Sixtus V. ; it is now observed in the Roman Church on the 17th of September. The office, however, is one of those whose use is not obligatory, but "ad libitum cleri Romani recitandum." See Wadding, an. 1224. n. 15, (tom. ii. p. 91.) Baron. Martyrol. in Sept. xvii.

But the stigmata of St. Francis were nothing to the marks impressed upon the heart of St. Veronica Giuliani, one of the saints canonized

But this is not the only instance of the attempt to draw a parallel between St. Francis and our blessed Lord. Thomas

by the present Pope, on Trinity Sunday, May 26th, 1839. "On Good Friday, the 5th of April, 1697, she received those rich pledges of love, which were vouchsafed to the seraphic St. Francis, St. Catharine, and other saints; for our Lord, after having previously foretold these graces, and after displaying his mercies in other ways to her, was pleased to imprint upon her hands and feet the stigmata or wounds of His most sacred Passion. These wounds were afterwards renewed upon several other occasions, and their reality was made known to many persons." *Lives of St. Alphonsus Liguori, &c., whose canonization took place May 26, 1839. Lond. (Dolman,) 1839. pp. 261, 262.* But this was not all: "Veronica foretold that twenty-four marks would be found engraven upon her heart; and, by the order of her confessor, she described the exact form and disposition of them, by cutting them out in red and white paper; and, after her death, they were found to correspond in every particular with the account and picture which she had made of them. They were as follows:—a Latin cross, with a C in the top of the upright piece; the centre of the transverse an F; in the right point of the transverse a V, and in the left an O. Above the cross was, on one side, a crown of thorns: on the left of which was a banner upon a staff, which passed transversely over the cross, and the flag of the banner was divided into two tongues, on the upper of which was a large I, and on the lower an *m* in running hand. At the top of the banner was a flame, and, lower down, a hammer, a pair of pincers, a lance, and a reed with a sponge represented upon the top. On the right of the cross, beginning from above, was a small garment to represent the seamless vest of our Lord, another flame, a chalice, two wounds, a column, three nails, a scourge, and seven swords; with the letters P. P. V. on other parts of the heart. All these marks were exactly described by her upon paper, which being compared with her heart, soon after death, were found to agree in every particular. Her confessor attests that the meaning of the above letters and emblems is:—The seven swords are the seven dolours of Mary; the banner, the ensign of her victories over the devil, the world, and herself; the two letters, I (J) and *m*, Jesus and Mary; C, charity; F, faith and fidelity to God; O, obedience; the two VV, humility and the will of God (*Umiltà*, and *Volontà di Dio*;) PP, patience and suffering (*Patire*;) the two flames, the love of God and her neighbour." *Ibid. pp. 268, 269.*

de Celano, his disciple and earliest biographerⁿ, represents him as teaching his disciples to pray, in obvious imitation of our Saviour: "Deprecati sunt eum fratres tempore illo, ut doceret eos orare, quoniam in simplicitate spiritus ambulantes, adhuc ecclesiasticum officium ignorabant. Quibus ipse ait; Cum orabitis, dicite: Pater noster, Adoramus te Christe, [hic] et ad omnes ecclesias tuas, quæ sunt in mundo universo, et benedicimus tibi, quia per sanctam crucem tuam redemisti mundum." Lib. i. cap. 6, n. 45. (*Acta Sanctorum*. Oct. tom. ii. p. 696.) In another place, (*ibid.* n. 48, p. 697,) St. Francis is declared to have had the power of discerning the thoughts of men's hearts: "Et quidam manifestis indiciis sæpius hoc probarant et experti fuerant, occulta cordis eorum Patrem sanctissimum non latere. O quotiens, nullo docente homine, sed Spiritu Sancto revelante, absentium fratrum acta agnovit, occulta cordium aperuit, et conscientiam exploravit!"

I have cited these lamentable examples of fanaticism, from the contemporaries of St. Francis only, in order to exhibit the early development of that gross superstition which afterwards led his admirers into still more awful blasphemies. But it is not necessary to my purpose to pursue the subject farther^o; and I shall therefore now go on to notice another feature in the early history of the Franciscans, namely, the application of certain prophecies, especially of the Apocalypse, to the life and actions of their founder.

Thus, for example, Bonaventure tells us that the angel

ⁿ Oudin. de Script. Eccles. tom. iii. col. 105.

^o Let the reader who desires to have a specimen of the extremes to which the later Franciscans were carried, in their attempts to draw a parallel between their founder and our blessed Lord, consult the "*Liber conformitatum*" of Bartholomæus Albicius, or de Pisis. Milan, 1810. fol. This impious work was written in 1399; and was defended by Henr. Sedulius in his "*Apologeticus adversus Alcoranum Franciscanorum pro libro conformitatum*." Antwerp, 1607. 4to.

who was seen by St. John "ascending from the east, having the seal of the living God," (Rev. vii. 2,) was no other than St. Francis. After attempting to draw a parallel between St. Francis and St. John the Baptist, the author adds; "Ideoque alterius amici sponsi, apostoli et Evangelistæ Joannis vaticinatione veridica, sub similitudine angeli ascendentis ab ortu solis, signumque Dei vivi habentis, astruitur non immeritò designatus. Sub apertione namque sexti sigilli; *Vidi* (ait Joannes in Apocalypsi) *alterum angelum ascendentem ab ortu solis, habentem signum Dei vivi.* Hunc Dei nuncium amabilem Christo, imitabilem nobis, et admirabilem mundo, servum Dei fuisse Franciscum, indubitabili fide colligimus, si culmen in eo eximiæ sanctitatis advertimus, quâ inter homines vivens, imitator fuit puritatis angelicæ; quâ et positus est perfectis Christi sectatoribus in exemplum. Ad quod quidem fideliter sentiendum et piè, non solum inducit officium, quod habuit vocandi ad fletum et planctum, calvitium et cingulum sacci, [Isai. xxii. 12,] signandique THAU super frontes virorum gementium et dolentium, [Ezech. ix. 4,] signo pœnitentialis crucis, et habitûs cruci conformis: verum etiam irrefragabili veritatis testificatione confirmat signaculum similitudinis Dei viventis, Christi videlicet crucifixi, quod in corpore ipsius fuit impressum, non per naturæ virtutem, vel ingenium artis, sed potiùs per admirandam potentiam Spiritus Dei vivi." Vit. S. Franc. Prolog. n. 2. (Acta Sanctor. Octobris, tom. ii. p. 742.)

And this interpretation of the prophecy, Bonaventure ("the seraphic doctor," as he was called,) professed to have received by immediate revelation. "Nihil autem mirum," says Wadding, after quoting the foregoing passage, "si seraphicus Doctor ita intelligendum esse hunc locum indubitabili fide se colligere dicat, dum ut refert Pisanus, [lib. 1, confor. 15 et 31,] id per revelationem sibi factam in ædícula Portiunculæ apud Assisium accepit. Nec sibi soli,

verum et aliis hoc certo revelatum esse testatus est in Comitiis generalibus fratrum Parisiis, si Bernardino Senensi credamus, [to. 2, Sermon. 60, in princ.] ‘Prædicans,’ inquit, ‘in ipso Capitulo cum maximo fervore, asseruit se certissime scire per revelationes indubitabiles, et solemnes factas talibus personis, quæ de hoc non poterant dubitare, quod B. Franciscus erat singulariter Angelus sexti signaculi, et quod ad literam de ipso, atque illius statu et ordine intellexit Evangelista Joannes, atque in spiritu eum vidit, quando protulit dicta verba, necnon et filiorum suorum, perfecte imitantium Christum, Collegium in omnibus senariis libri Apocalypsis clarius intellexit p.’”

Such therefore having been the principles upon which the Franciscan sect was founded, and such the spirit in which those principles were carried into effect, it need not excite much wonder, that at a subsequent period, when a portion of the order was denounced by the Court of Rome, the excommunicated party should have had recourse to the tempting weapon of prophetic interpretation, in their unequal contest with the holy See.

The “celsitudo altissimæ paupertatis” enjoined by the rule of St. Francis^q, was soon found to be inconsistent with the exercise of the powers with which the favour of the Papal court, and the veneration of a superstitious vulgar, had armed the brethren of the order; and hence, a party began, very soon after the death of their founder, to contend for a looser interpretation of this part of their obligations than the words, “fratres sibi nihil appropriant, nec

^p Wadding, Apparatus. n. 4. tom. i. p. 15. The same interpretation was followed by Jacobus a Voragine, (Archbp. of Genoa, and author of the celebrated *Golden Legend*,) although he was a Dominican, Sermon. ii. de S. Francisco. Also by Leo X. in Bulla unionis, *Ite et vos*. Other authorities are quoted to the same effect by Sedulius, in Elogiis D. Francisci, and by Anthony Daza, in his book *De Stigmatibus B. Francisci*. I say this on the authority of Wadding. Ibid.

^q Reg. B. Franc. cap. vi. Wadding, tom. ii. p. 66.

domum, nec locum, nec aliquam rem," would seem to an ordinary reader to admit of. The Popes at an early period took the side of the laxer brethren, and Gregory IX. in his bull *Quo elongati*, published in 1231, thus interpreted the law of poverty; "Dicimus, quod nec in comuni, nec in speciali debent proprietatem habere; sed utensilium, et librorum, et eorum mobiliū, quæ licet habere, ordo *usum* habeat; et fratres, secundum quod generalis minister vel provinciales disponendum duxerint, iis utantur, salvo locorum et domorum dominio illis, ad quos noscitur pertinere^r." This decision, which allowed the *use*, though not the ownership of worldly goods, offended the *Spirituals*, as they were called, and gave rise to an angry controversy, which led to a second interference on the part of the See of Rome; and Innocent IV. in his bull, *Quanto studiosius*, (A. D. 1245,) was induced to sanction a still further deviation from the spirit of the original rule, by giving authority to the Provincials of the order to nominate a sort of trustees, who might hold all necessary properties in trust for the use of the brethren; "constituere aliquos viros idoneos, Deum timentes, qui pro locorum indigentia singulorum, res hujusmodi, tam concessas, quam etiam conferendas, auctoritate nostra libere petere, vendere, commutare, alienare, tractare, expendere, vel permutare, ac in usum fratrum, convertere valeant^s."

Against this second exposition of their obligations to absolute poverty the Spirituals openly rebelled, and the contest, in which their opponents were aided by the powerful support of the Roman Pontiffs, soon led to their questioning the papal authority, and denouncing the interference of the Roman See as unwarrantable and unrighteous^t.

^r Bullar. Rom. (ed. Car. Coquelines,) tom. iii. part i. pp. 263, 264. Fol. Romæ. 1740.

^s Wadding, *Annal.* tom. iii. p. 489. n. lxxv.

^t See Wadding, *Annal.* tom. iii. p. 100 seq. The miserable state of

To the party thus driven into opposition to the See of Rome, the writings of the Abbot Joachim afforded a ready supply of materials for calling into the field the superstition of the multitude, by a display of prophecies, which were easily turned against the Church of Rome itself; and these dissensions were greatly promoted by the political contests of the times, the Ghibellines taking the side of the

the order in the midst of these tumults is thus described by Bonaventure, in a letter addressed "*carissimis ministris, Provincialibus et custodibus,*" published by Wadding, tom. iv. p. 58. He says: "*Sane perquirenti mihi causas, cur splendor nostri ordinis quodammodo obscuratur; ordo exterius inficitur, et nitor conscientiarum interius defœdatur; occurrit negotiorum multiplicitas, quia pecunia, nostri ordinis paupertati super omnia inimica, avide petitur, et incaute recipitur, et incautius contrectatur. Occurrit quorundam Fratrum otiositas, quæ sentina est omnium vitiorum; qua plurimi sopiti, monstruosum quemdam statum inter contemplativam, et activam eligentes: non tam carnaliter, quam crudeliter sanguinem comedunt animarum. Occurrit evagatio plurimorum, qui propter solatium suorum corporum, gravando eos per quos transeunt: non exempla post se relinquunt vitæ; sed scandala potius animarum. Occurrit importuna petitio, qua omnes transeuntes per terras adeo abhorrent Fratrum occursum, ut eis timeant, quasi prædonibus obviare. Occurrit ædificiorum constructio sumptuosa, et curiosa, quæ Fratrum pacem inquietat, amicos gravat, et hominum perversis judiciis multipliciter nos exponit. Occurrit multiplicatio familiaritatum, quam Regula nostra prohibet, ex qua suspiciones, infamationes, et scandala plurima oriuntur. Occurrit improvida commissio officiorum, qua Fratribus nondum usquequaque probatis, nec carne maceratis, nec spiritu roboratis imponuntur officia vix portanda. Occurrit etiam sepulturarum, et testamentorum avida quædam invasio, non sine magna turbatione cleri, et maxime sacerdotum parochialium. Occurrit mutatio locorum frequens, et sumptuosa, cum quadam violentia, et perturbatione terrarum, cum nota inconstantiæ, non sine præjudicio paupertatis. Occurrit tandem sumptuositas expensarum. Nam cum Fratres paucis nolint esse contenti, et caritas hominum refriguerit: facti sumus omnibus onerosi magisque fiemus in posterum; nisi remedium celeriter apponatur."*

Spirituals, and the Guelphs maintaining the cause of the worldly or less rigid Franciscans.

But I shall not attempt to pursue any farther the history of these controversies, it must suffice for my present purpose to give here a few specimens of the doctrines put forward by these Franciscans and their followers, especially in reference to their interpretations of prophecy ^u.

The most remarkable writer of the Spiritual Franciscans was Petrus Johannes Olivi, whose commentary on the Apocalypse, written about the year 1278, gave great strength to his party, and was burned by order of Pope John XXII. for the heresies it contained. The doctrines asserted in this production were, that the Pope and his followers were heretics of the synagogue of Satan; that the Roman Church was the whore of Babylon; that the Pope was the mystical Antichrist, the precursor of the great Antichrist; that all property was unlawful, contrary to the precepts of Christ, and that in consequence of the temporal possessions of ecclesiastics, the Church was become apostate, and the powers of the ministry made null and void.

The following is the account of Peter John's opinions, which has been given by Eymericus, in his *Directorium Inquisitorum*, part ii. qu. 9, pp. 268—270.

^u Called also Peter of Beziers (*Petrus Biterrensis*) from his connexion with the monastery there, and *Petrus de Serignano* from the place of his birth. For his history, see Oudin. *De Script. Eccles.* tom. iii. p. 584. Baluze, *Vitæ Pontiff. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 117 and 152, with the documents published in his *Miscellanea*, hereafter to be referred to. Wadding, *Annal.* tom. v. Raynald, *Annal. an.* 1297, n. 55, et seq. D'Argentre, *Collect. judicior. de novis erroribus*, tom. i. p. 226, sq. Schelhorn, *Amœnitates Litterariæ.* tom. ix. p. 678, sq.; and *The Benedictine Histoire generale de Languedoc*, tom. iv. pp. 91, 179, 182. Mosheim quotes Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Parisiensis*, a work I have not had an opportunity of consulting.

“ERRORES PETRI JOHANNIS.

“ Prima hæresis est : quòd sextus status Ecclesiæ, quæ incoëpit, ut dicit, à tempore Beati Francisci, et plenius à tempore condemnationis Babylonis meretricis magnæ, quando angelus Christi signo signavit per suos futuram militiam Christi, et durabit usque ad tempus Antichristi, et præeminet notabiliter quinque primis.

“ Secunda hæresis est : quòd sicut in primo Christi adventu formata est nova Ecclesia, veteri synagoga rejecta : sic et in initio sexti status, vetustas prioris temporis est universaliter repellenda, ut videatur novum sæculum, seu nova Ecclesia tunc formari veteribus jam rejectis. Et sicut in sexta ætate rejecto carnali judaismo, et vetustate prioris seculi, venit novus homo Christus cum nova lege, vita, et cruce : sic in sexto statu rejecta carnali Ecclesia, et vetustate prioris seculi, renovabitur Christi lex, et vita, et crux : propter quod in ejus primo initio Franciscus apparuit cauteriatus, et Christo totus crucifixus, et consignatus.

“ Tertia hæresis est : quòd sicut gloria, quæ fuerat synagogæ parata, et pontificibus suis, si in Christum credidissent, translata fuit ad primitivam Ecclesiam, et ad pastores ejus : sic et gloria parata finali ecclesiæ quinti status, propter ejus malitiam ad electos sexti status fuit translata.

“ Quarta hæresis est : quòd constat regulam fratrum Minorum per beatum Franciscum editam, esse vere et proprie illam Evangelicam, quam Christus in se ipso servavit, et Apostolis imposuit, et in Evangeliiis suis conscribi fecit.

“ Quinta hæresis est : quòd regula beati Francisci est condemnanda à pluribus ab Ecclesia carnali, et superborum nequiter, et sophistice, sicut Christus condemnatus fuit à synagoga reproba Judæorum : et quòd hoc oportet præire exterminium Ecclesiæ, sicut Christi et suorum condemnatio à Judæis præivit temporale exterminium synagogæ.

“ Sexta hæresis est : quòd beatus Franciscus est ille Angelus, de quo dicitur in Apocalypsi : Vidi alterum an-

gelum habentem signum Dei vivi: Evangelicæ vitæ et regulæ sexto et septimo tempore propagandæ, et magnificandæ renovator, et summus post Christum, et ejus matrem observator.

“ Septima hæresis est: quòd decet condemnationem regulæ beati Francisci præire exterminium carnalis Ecclesiæ, ad hoc, ut justo Dei judicio carnalis Ecclesia prout meruit excitetur, et ejus malitia crescat, et consumatur usque ad impugnationem vitæ et spiritus sancti.

“ Octava hæresis est: quòd fere omnes clerici et regulares possidentes aliquid in communi, videntur minus bene sentire de abrenunciatione Evangelica hujusmodi in communi.

“ Nona hæresis est: quòd sicut synagoga propagata est ex duodecim Patriarchis, et Ecclesia de gentibus ex duodecim Apostolis: sic finalis Ecclesia reliquiarum Judæorum et gentium est per duodecim viros Evangelicos propaganda: unde beatus Franciscus habuit duodecim filios et socios, per quos et in quibus fuit fundatus, et initiatus ordo Evangelicus.

“ Decima hæresis est: quòd tertia tribulatio transfigit manus per apparentiam celebris auctoritatis Ecclesiæ, et plebeie multitudinis sibi subditæ, et per apparentiam contrarii in spiritualibus viris.

“ Undecima hæresis est: quòd Angelus Franciscus sentiet se prosperari, non ita in carnali Ecclesia Latinorum, sicut in Græcis, et Sarracenis, et Tartaris, et tandem in Judæis.

“ Duodecima hæresis est: quòd omnes abbates quinti temporis convenient in quintum caput bestię, quæ est diabolus, aut Antichristus, et congregatio malorum.

“ Tertia-decima hæresis est: quòd illa Ecclesia, quam nos vocamus universalem Ecclesiam Catholicam militantem; est Ecclesia carnalis, Babylon meretrix magna extensive: quia boni sic sunt in ea, sicut pauca grana auri inter immensos acervos arenæ: et sicut pauca grana tritici

sub immenso cumulo palearum, quæ etiam Ecclesia carnalis publice et impudentissime adulteratur à suo sponso Christo: quæ etiam se et omnes gentes sibi subjectas corrumpit, foedis carnalitibus, et simoniacis cupiditatibus, et terrena gloria hujus mundi, quæ etiam nunc exarsit in iram contra viros sprituales, et contra vires et influxus Spiritus sancti, quæ etiam cecidit intus spiritualiter, et exterius corporaliter; et quæ per temporale exterminium cecidit in mundo; deinde ad æternum supplicium cecidit in inferno: et quæ sua malitia et potestate impedivit et angustiavit spiritum electorum, et conversionem totius orbis; quæ etiam est exterminanda et ejus exterminium erit Sanctis quasi exitus de carcere, ad libertatis latitudinem et volatum, et exitus de tenebrosissimo fumo fornacis ad lucem solarem, et sicut exoneratio à lapide molari, seu à monte immenso.

“ Quarta-decima hæresis est: quòd sicut per quattuor animalia quattuor primos status Sanctorum designantia, sublimata est generalis sedes Romanæ Ecclesiæ ceteris patriarchalibus seu orientalibus, à Christo, et ab eius vera fide rejectis: sic in eodem tempore per quattuor bestias à Daniele visas, quattuor primis ordinibus Sanctorum contrarias, sublimata est sedes bestię, id est, bestialis catervæ, ita ut numero et potestate prævaleat, et fere absorbeat sedem Christi, cui localiter, et nominaliter est commixta: unde et sic appellatur Ecclesia fidelium, sicut et illa, quæ vere est per gratiam sedes et Ecclesia Christi. Super hujusmodi vero malitiam, non cessant zelatores sancti huius quinti temporis effundere phialam detestationis, et celebris increpationis, ita quòd regnum ejus, velit nolit, evidenter apparet omnibus, et etiam ipsismet tenebrosum, id est, foeda et enormi luxuria et avaritia, et simonia, et superbia, et dolosa negotiatione et astutia, et fere omni militia dissipatum, et abominandum: unde et infra vocatur Babylon meretrix habens in manu sua poculum aureum plenum abominatione. Per hanc autem sedem bestię designatur principaliter car-

nalis clerus, in hoc quinto tempore regnans, et toti Ecclesiæ præsidens : in quo quidem bestialis vita transcender, et singulariter regnat, et sedet sicut in sua principali sede : Et longe plus, quàm in laicis plebibus sibi subjectis.

“ Quinta-decima hæresis est: quòd tempore Antichristi mystici, carnalis Ecclesia, per quam intelligit in toto suo processu Ecclesiam Romanam, contra doctrinam Sanctorum, et vitam et zelum, acrius exardescens, quasi omnino siccetur spirituali sapientia, et virtuali gratia, et opulentia Christi : sicut factum fuit in Judæis et in Græcis, ita ut pateat omni errori.

“ Sexta-decima hæresis est : quòd sicut Vasthi regina à regno et conjugio regis Assueri abjecta, electa est Esther humilis et sancta ad ejusdem regis connubium et regnum, fecitque rex magnificum convivium cunctis principibus et servis suis : sic rejecta synagoga, electa est Ecclesia plenitudinis gentium : sicque in sexto statu Ecclesiæ rejecta Babylone adultera, oportet spiritualem Ecclesiam exaltari, et celebre ac spirituale convivium post ejus nuptias celebrari.

“ Decima-septima hæresis est : quòd sub mystico Antichristo fienda est subversio et commotio, per quam tota carnalis Ecclesia terribiliter excitabitur, et commovebitur contra Evangelicum spiritum Christi.

“ Decima-octava hæresis est : quòd sub mystico Antichristo cadet Babylon meretrix carnalis Ecclesia, quo tempore sancti fratres fortiter prædicabunt dicentes, quòd ex tunc non est Ecclesia Christi, sed synagoga satanæ, et habitatio dæmoniorum, quæ ante in corde suo dicebat superbiendo : Sedeo regina in magna præsentia et gloria, super regnum meum dominor, et quiesco, et vidua non sum ; id est, non sum destituta gloriosis episcopis et regibus.

“ Decima-nona hæresis est : quòd Romana Ecclesia est mulier illa meretrix magna, de qua agitur in Apocalyp. quæ fuit quondam in statu paganismi, et postmodum fuit in fide

Christi, quæ nunc multis criminibus cum hoc mundo fornicata est, quæ merito vocatur meretrix magna, quia à fideli cultu et à sincero amore, et delitiis Christi sponsi sui recedens adhæret huic sæculo, et divitiis, et delitiis ejus, et diabolo, et regibus, et magnatibus, et prælatis, et omnibus aliis amatoribus hujus sæculi.

“Vigesima hæresis est: quòd magis appropriate competit doctoribus status tertii generalis, qui est sextus et septimus, esse spirituales portas apertas introducentes apertores, seu explicatores sapientiæ Christianæ, quàm Apostolis.

“Multa alia hæreticalia posuit iste frater Petrus Joannes in apostilla prædicta: sed hæc sunt principalia, et ad hæc cetera reducuntur: posuitque quamplura alia falsa, temeraria, blasphema, periculosa, presumptuosa pariter et insana.”

Of Peter John's exposition or Postilla super Apocalypsi, the great source of these doctrines, nothing now remains except the sixty articles extracted from it by certain Doctors of theology, with their sentence of condemnation appended to each article, drawn up at Avignon by command of Pope John XXII. This curious document has been published by Baluze, *Miscell. Sacra.* tom. ii. p. 258, (ed. Mansi, fol. Lucæ, 1761,) and is entitled † “*Litera Magistrorum in theologia infrascriptorum, qui articulos infrascriptos de postilla fratris Petri Johannis Olivi, quondam ordinis minorum, facta super Apocalypsi, extractos diligenter examinaverunt, et ipsos tam temerarios quam hæreticos judicaverunt.*” I shall extract a few of the articles: The first is a general statement of his prophetic system, derived very evidently from that of the Abbot Joachim:

“I. Primus articulus talis est. In prologo super lectura Apocalypsis in primo notabili dictus frater Petrus Johannis

† See also D'Argentre *Collect. judicior. de novis erroribus*, tom. i. p. 233, where the names of the eight masters or doctors of divinity by whom this document was drawn up are given.

dicit sic : ‘ Quantum ergo ad primum, qui scilicet sint septem status Ecclesiæ in his visionibus descripti, sciendum quod primus est, foundationis Ecclesiæ primitivæ in Judaismo sub Apostolis factæ. Secundus fuit probationis et confirmationis ejusdem per martyria quæ potissime inflicta sunt a paganis in toto orbe. Tertius fuit doctrinalis expositionis fidei rationabiliter confutantis et convincentis insurgentes hæreses. Quartus fuit anachoreticæ vitæ mundum usque ad extrema solitudinis fugientis et carnem austerrime macerantis, suoque exemplo totam Ecclesiam instar solis et stellarum illuminantis. Quintus fuit vitæ communis, partim zeli severi, partim condescensivi sub Monachis et Clericis temporales possessiones habentibus. Sextus est renovationis evangelicæ vitæ et expugnationis antichristianæ et finalis conversationis Judæorum et gentium, seu iteratæ reædificationis Ecclesiæ simul primæ. Septimus vero, prout spectat ad vitam istam, est quædam quieta et mira participatio futuræ gloriæ, ac si cœlestis Jerusalem videatur descendisse in terram : prout tamen spectat ad aliam vitam, est status generalis resurrectionis et glorificationis sanctorum. et finalis consummationis omnium.’ Item cuilibet prædicatorum statuum attribuit certa principia et certos fines. Unde paulo post in eodem prologo et sub eodem notabili dicit sic : ‘ Primus status proprie cœpit a spiritus sancti missione, licet alio modo cœperit a Christi prædicatione. Secundus vero proprie cœpit a persecutione Ecclesiæ facta sub Nerone Imperatore, quamvis alio modo cœperit a Stephani lapidatione vel Christi passione. Tertius vero cœpit a tempore Constantini Imperatoris ad fidem Christi conversi, seu a tempore Silvestri Papæ, seu Concilii Nicæni contra Arrianorum hæresim celebrati. Quartus vero proprie cœpit a tempore magni Antonii anachoretæ, seu a tempore Pauli primi eremitæ, vel secundum Joachim a tempore Justiniani Augusti, de quo infra in decimo notabili amplius tangetur. Quintus vero proprie cœpit a tempore Karoli

Magni. Sextus vero aliququaliter coepit a tempore beati viri patris nostri Francisci. Plenius tamen debet incipere a damnatione Babylonis meretricis magnæ, quando præfatus angelus Christi signo signabit per suos futuram malitiam Christi. Septimus autem uno modo inchoat ab interfec-tione illius Antichristi, qui dicet se Deum et Messiam Judæorum. Alio modo inchoat ab initio extremi judicii omnium reproborum et electorum.’” p. 258.

The ninth article states the doctrine of the rejection of the visible Church, in connexion with a remarkable allusion to the stigmata of St. Francis, whereby he is said to have been crucified with Christ, and wholly conformed to Him. “Nonus articulus in eodem tredecimo notabili dicit sic. ‘Sicut etiam in sexta ætate rejecto carnali Judaismo et vetustate prioris sæculi, venit novus homo Christus, cum nova lege vita et cruce, sic in sexto statu rejecta carnali Ecclesia et vetustate prioris sæculi renovabitur Christi lex et vita et crux. Propter quod in ejus primo initio Franciscus apparuit Christi plagis characterizatus, et Christo totus con-crucifixus et configuratus.’” p. 260.

This destruction of the Church, with its episcopacy and religious foundations, is still more distinctly described in the twenty-seventh article: “Vicesimus septimus post prædicta ad unam columnam exponens illud, *Et factus est sol niger*, dicit sic. ‘Tunc enim totus status Ecclesiæ in Prælati et plebibus et religiosis funditus subvertetur, præter id quod in paucis electis remanebit occulte. Tunc etiam tam in oculis infidelium quam in oculis fidelium tunc apostatan-tium vel desperate morientium nigrescet lux solaris fidei, ipsaque Ecclesia apparebit quasi luna cruentata, non solum propter stragem occisorum ejus, sed etiam quia tunc plenius patebit qualiter fuerat luxuriis abominabiliter menstru-ata, et nefandis impietatibus et crudelitatibus plena.’ Et post duodecim lineas subjungit. ‘Est enim tunc nova Babylon sic judicanda sicut fuit carnalis Hierusalem, quia Christum

non recepit, immo reprobavit et crucifixit. Unde Lucae xxiii. prædicit ei Christus mala consimilia istis dicens: *Filiæ Jerusalem, nolite flere super me, sed super vos ipsas flete.* Et paulo post, *Tunc incipient dicere montibus, Cadite super nos, et collibus, Cooperite nos.*" Upon this the Doctors of Divinity give the following judgment: "Hæreticus quantum ad hoc quod dicit circa finem: 'Est enim tunc nova Babylon sic judicanda sicut fuit carnalis Hierusalem, quia Christum Dominum crucifixit;' quia per novam Babylonem intelligit illam eandem Ecclesiam de qua supra immediate fecerat mentionem. Alias sua probatio et applicatio esset nulla. Unde cum supra immediate loqueretur de Ecclesia universali et catholica, et de nulla alia, quia illa sola habet finaliter omnes electos, apparet quod illam dicit esse judicandam sicut synagogam in iudicio, iudicio scilicet reprobationis, quod est hæreticum et blasphemum." p. 263.

In the next article we have the same doctrine; and the angel in Rev. vii. 2, is explained of St. Francis:—"Vicesimus octavus undecimo capitulo exponens illud, *Et vidi angelum alterum ascendentem*, dicit sic. 'Hic ergo angelus est Franciscus, evangelicæ vitæ et regulæ sexto et septimo tempore propagandæ et magnificandæ renovator, et summus post Christum et ejus matrem observator.' Et post octo lineas de eodem sancto subjungit. 'Audiavi etiam a viro spirituali valde fide digno, et fratri Leoni Confessori et socio beati Francisci valde familiari, quoddam huic scripturæ consonum, quod nec assero, neque scio, nec censeo esse asserendum, scilicet quod tam per verba fratris Leonis quam per propriam revelationem sibi factam perceperat quod beatus Franciscus in illa presura tentationis Babylonicæ, in qua ejus status et regula quasi instar Christi crucifigetur, resurget gloriosus; ut sicut in vita et in crucis stigmatibus est Christo singulariter assimilatus, sic et in resurrectione Christo assimiletur necessaria

tunc suis discipulis confirmandis et informandis sicut Christi resurrectio fuit Apostolis confirmandis necessaria, et super fundatione et gubernatione futuræ ecclesiæ informandis. Ut autem resurrectio servi patenti grandis dignitatis distaret a resurrectione Christi et suæ matris, Christus statim post triduum resurrexit, et mater ejus post quadraginta dies resurrexisse dicitur a quibusdam non omnino spernendis, iste vero post totum tempus sui ordinis usque ad crucifixionem ipsius cruci Cristi assimilata et Francisci stigmatibus præsignata.” Upon this the doctors remark, “Falsus, fatuus et temerarius quoad duo. Primo quantum ad hoc quod dicit quod beatus Franciscus fuit post Christum et ejus matrem evangelicæ vitæ et regulæ summus observator: quia hoc est ipsum præferre omnibus sanctis novi testamenti, quod specialiter propter Apostolos temerarium est, et credimus esse falsum. Secundo quantum ad id quod narrat ab alio sibi dictum de crucifixione status et regulæ beati Francisci, et de ejusdem sancti corporali resurrectione ante alios singulariter futura. Hoc enim et consequentia ad istud fictionem phantasticam reputamus, nec dignam relatione aliqua nec scriptura.” p. 263. They do not, however, venture upon any censure of the fable about the resurrection of the blessed Virgin, which one would think was open to much the same objection.

The fiftieth article relates to the times of “the mystical Antichrist,” which are to prepare the way for the coming of “the great Antichrist”: “Eodem capitulo paulo post dicit sic: ‘Potest etiam dici quod tempore Antichristi mystici zelus sanctorum evangelicorum sic percutiet excessivam opulentiam et fastuosam superbiam et Babylonicam scientiam et doctrinam carnalis Ecclesiæ, quod ex hoc contra sanctorum doctrinam et vitam et zelum acrius excandescens quasi omnino siccabitur a spiritali sapientia et virtuali gratia et opulentia Christi. Ex quo etiam ulterius sequetur desiccatio suæ Babylonicæ scientiæ, juxta quod in Judæis et

in Græcis ab Ecclesia Catholica recedentibus non solum exsiccata est virtus et sapientia Christi; sed etiam alia, ita ut pateant omni errori et subjectioni. Hæc igitur est præparatio ad facilius perducendum in carnalem Ecclesiam errores Antichristi magni et orientalium Regum.'” pp. 268, 269.

In the fifty-second article, we are told that the mystical Antichrist will be a *pseudo-pope*, and that he will be worshipped as God: “Paulo post dicit: ‘Unde et quidam putant quod tam Antichristus mysticus quam proprius et magnus erit Pseudo-Papa caput pseudo-prophetarum, et quod per ejus et suorum pseudo-prophetarum consilia et cooperationes acquireretur imperium illi Regi per quem statuetur in suo falso papatu. Sed ille Rex qui statuet eum, faciet ipsum ultra hoc adorari ut Deum.’” p. 269.

The last passage I shall quote is the interpretation given by our author to Rev. xvii. where the woman “arrayed in purple and scarlet colour” is explained of the Roman empire and Church: “Decimo septimo capitulo circa principium dicit sic. Nota quod hæc mulier stat hic pro Romana gente et imperio, tam prout fuit quondam in statu paganismi, quam prout postmodum fuit in fide Christi, multis tamen criminibus cum hoc mundo fornicata. Vocatur ergo meretrix magna, quia a fideli cultu et a sincero amore et deliciis Dei Christi sponsi sui recedens adhæret huic sæculo et divitiis et deliciis ejus et diabolo propter ista, et etiam regibus et magnatibus et prælatis et omnibus aliis amatoribus hujus sæculi.’” p. 269.

These extracts fully authenticate the account given by Eymericus of Peter John's doctrines, notwithstanding the attempt of the laborious historian of the Franciscans to exculpate him from the charge of heresy*. Many other

* Wadding, *Annales minor.* tom. v. passim. (See especially p. 391, sq.) He is also defended (not very warmly) by Antoninus, (*Summa*, part iii. tit. 24, cap. 9, n. 11 et 13,) but zealously by all the Franciscan

documents relating to this controversy, will be found in the *Miscellanea* of Baluze, all of which give the same view of the opinions and doctrines put forward by these sectarians.

In the fourteenth century, the doctrines of Joachim and Peter John were zealously embraced by the Beguins, *Fratricelli* or *Bizochi*, or, as they were called in Germany, *Beghards*. The best account of these sectarians will be found in Mosheim's unfinished and posthumous work, "*De Beghardis et Beguinabus Commentarius*," published by Geo. Henr. Martini, Lipsiæ, 1790, 8vo., and in his *Institutes of Ecclesiastical History*, Cent. xiii. part ii. cap. 2, § 39, seq. They professed the rule of St. Francis, although they had withdrawn from the great family of the order, and had set up for themselves a distinct general, rejecting the decrees of the pontiff, relative to the interpretation of the rule of poverty, and adhering to that part of the Franciscan institute with a rigour exceeding even the strictness of the *Spirituals* ^x. These fanatics, at the end of the thirteenth century, were every where regarded, both by the other Franciscans and by the Roman See, as the worst class of heretics.

writers. His confession of faith, in which there is nothing heretical, and which his advocates tell us was put forth just before his death, may be seen in Wadding, an. 1297, n. 33 and 34, tom. v. pp. 378, 379. See also his own defence of his doctrines, (which, however, seems to have been written before he had broached his prophetic speculations.) apud D'Argentre, Coll. judicior. tom. i. p. 226.

^x Mosheim gives the following account of the difference between the *Spirituals* and the *Fratricelli*: "*Multa Fratricelli cum Spiritualibus communia habent: sed ab illis tamen differunt. Spirituales communionem cum reliquis Franciscanis, quibuscum dissentiebant, non tollebant, peculiaremque sectam condere nolebant: Fratricelli vero nihil sibi rei volebant esse cum illa familia, quæ a Francisco profecta erat, et proprium sibi caput præficiebant. Spirituales familiam Franciscanam communiter aliquid habere non prorsus vetabant, ea licet lege, ut dominio rerum carerent, quibus uterentur: Verum Fratricelli suos neque separatim, neque communiter aliquid possidere patiebantur, et*

Some of these Beguins were examined by the inquisitors of Thoulouse, and their sentences and confessions are to be found in the Book of Sentences published by Limborch; from these I shall give a few extracts.

The first is from the culpa of Raymund de Buxo: "Raymundus de buxo, filius quondam Raymundi de buxo, filius quondam Raymundi de buxo, de bellopodio dyocesis mirapiscensis, qui dicit se esse de tertio ordine sancti Francisci, et se esse professum terciam regulam ejusdem cum publico instrumento, cujus portat habitum cum mantello sicut per ipsius confessiones factas in judicio diversis vicibus et diebus sub anno Domini m^o.ccc^o.xxi^o. item m^o.ccc^o.xxii^o. legitime constat in judicio recognovit quod ipse audivit legi in postilla fratris Petri Johannis olivi super apocalipsim de muliere vestita auro habente poculum aureum in manu sua sedente super bestiam habente capita vii. et cornua x. et habebat super se scriptum misterium, Babilon meretrix magna mater fornicationum, &c. Ubi exponit quod per dictam meretricem magnam intelligitur Romana ecclesia, non quantum ad fideles et electos, set quantum ad reprobos, quam etiam Romanam ecclesiam quantum ad reprobos vocat Babilonem meretricem magnam, et subdit in dicta postilla, quod sicut in fine primi status ecclesie fuit factum judicium de synagoga que Christum crucifixerat propter quod fuit destructa et dejecta, sic in fine secundi status ecclesie qui durat usque ad antichristum fiet judicium de ecclesia carnali que persequitur vitam Christi in viris spiritualibus qui volunt tenere paupertatem Christi secundum regulam sancti Francisci; et destructa ecclesia carnali post mortem antichristi

absolutissimam paupertatem illam, quam Franciscus et in *Regula*, et in *Testamento* exigit, consecrabantur." Institt. sec. xiii. part ii. c. 2, § 39, note x. Wadding makes a very lame defence of his order against the charge of having given birth to these heretics, and endeavours to maintain that the Fratricelli were not Franciscans. See Mosheim's answer to this, ubi supr. not. y.

erigetur ecclesia tercii status in viris spiritualibus, et quantum ad illud quod frater P. Johannis predictus dixit in postilla de ecclesia Romana carnali, quam Babilonem meretricem magnam vocat deiciendam et destruendam ante adventum antichristi sicut predictus frater P. Johannis dixit in postilla predicta, que fuit sibi lecta in vulgari^y; ipse Raymundus de buxo credidit esse verum quantum ad reprobos set non quantum ad electos, et stetit in dicta credentia per IIII^{or} aut v. annos, donec fuit sibi ostensum quod dicta postilla continebat errorem. ¶ Item credidit informatus per scripturam dicti fratris P. Johannis quod infra XIII. annos computandos a presenti tempore antichristus major conplevisset cursum suum. ¶ Item credidit, quod sicut in fine primi status fuit synagoga destructa et rejecta paucis exceptis, qui fundaverunt ecclesiam, ita in fine secundi status reiceretur et destrueretur ecclesia Romana quam vocat carnalem." fol. 151. Limborch, p. 298.

This Beguin also mentions the opinion that St. Francis was foretold by the angel under the sixth seal in the Apocalypse: "Item juxta expositionem predicti fratris P. Johannis in postilla super apocalipsim, ipse Raymundus credebatur et intelligebatur sanctum Franciscum esse illum angelum de quo dicitur in apocalipsi, quod facies ejus erat sicut sol et habebat librum apertum in manu sua, cui singulariter et specialiter fuit revelata veritas vite Christi, et

^y It is a very curious circumstance in these confessions that almost all the Beguins examined speak of having had books containing their doctrines, and especially the writings of Peter John, in the *vernacular tongue*. Thus, in the confession of Bernardus de na jacma, "Libros in Romancio, in quibus errores dictorum beguinorum continentur, multos habuit et tenuit;" (p. 309;) and again in that of this same Raymund de Buxo, "Item pluries audivit legi et in diversis locis de libris fratris P. Johannis Olivi in romancio, seu vulgari, per diversas personas quas nominat." (p. 300.) See also pp. 311, 313, 316, 318. This is a remarkable proof of the great popularity of their prophetic doctrines, and the pains taken to spread them amongst the populace.

ipse Raymundus intelligebat dictam revelacionem esse factam sancto Francisco, non solum pro sua persona set pro toto ordine suo, quia credebat quod veritas vite Christi magis fuit revelata sancto Francisco et ordini ejus, quam cuicunque alteri sancto vel cuicunque alteri ordini." *Ib.* p. 301.

The confession of Peter Moresius is also very remarkable; it asserts most of the doctrines attributed to Peter John in the foregoing extracts, and contains a remarkable allusion to the document published by Baluze, from which I have already given some extracts. This Beguin confessed that he expected the coming of Antichrist and of the end of the world in the year 1325, (which perhaps should be 1335, in allusion to Daniel's prophecy ²;) the destruction of the Roman Church, before the coming of Antichrist, the erection of a new Church after his death, and the destruction of all religious orders except the spiritual Franciscans. It is particularly to be observed, that he divides the order of St. Francis into three parts; first, the great body (*communitas ordinis*) of those who obeyed the papal interpretations of their rule; secondly, the *Fratricelli*; and thirdly, the *Spirituals* and *Beguins*; and, we must remark also, that it is the last alone whom he exempts from the predicted destruction ³:—

² Thus, in the confession of Bernard de na jama, the year 1330 is fixed upon as the year when "Antichristus major fecerit cursum suum et erit mortuus." We have seen also in the confession of Raymund de Buxo, just quoted, that he had learned from the writings of Peter John, "quod infra xiiii. annos computandos a præsenti tempore, Antichristus major conplevisset cursum suum." This was spoken in the year 1321, which wanted just fourteen years of 1335; and we may therefore conclude that Peter John had followed his master Joachim in taking days for years, and, computing the 1335 days from the era of the Incarnation, had fixed the destruction of Antichrist at their termination.

³ This account of the three great sects of Franciscans differs, it will

“ Petrus Moresii filius quondam Guilielmi Moresii de bellopodio mirapiscensis dyocesis receptus ad tertium ordinem sancti Francisci conjugatus, sicut per ejus confessionem factam in judicio die VIII. mensis Aprilis Anno Domini M^o.CCC^o.XXII^o. legitime constat, credidit et credebatur firmiter tempore quo captus fuit quod antichristus esset venturus et consumpmaturus cursum suum infra annum quo computabitur incarnatio Domini M.CCC.XXV. ¶ Item credidit et credebatur quod ecclesia carnalis, per quam ipse et complices sui intelligebant Romanam ecclesiam, destrueretur ante adventum antichristi per bella exceptis aliquibus paucis qui eligerentur de ea et essent viri spirituales per quos post mortem antichristi ecclesia alia erigeretur et fundaretur que esset pauper humilis et benigna. ¶ Item credidit assertive quod omnes religiones seu ordines destruerentur ante finem mundi, excepto ordine sancti Francisci, cujus ordinis dixit esse tres partes, unam videlicet in communitate ordinis, et secundam in illis qui vocantur fratriscelli, et iste due partes finaliter destruerentur, et terciam in fratribus qui vocantur spirituales et in beguinis de tercio ordine eis adherentibus, et ista tertia pars sicut sancto Francisco promissum fuit usque ad finem mundi perduraret, et in ea veritas regule remaneret.” p. 303.

He distinctly denies the power of the Pope to dispense with or modify their rule, and asserts that the friars who received the papal decrees on this subject were *ipso facto* heretics: “¶ Item credidit quod dominus papa Johannes XXII^{us}. non po-

be seen, from that given by Mosheim, in an extract quoted p. 486, note *, who supposes the Fratricelli and the Beguins to be the same, and represents the Spirituals as a more moderate party who did not break all communion with the rest of the order, although they adhered to the stricter interpretation of their rule. Mosheim, however, must be understood as speaking of the common use of the terms by ecclesiastical writers and historians, not of their use as they were applied by the members of one of these sects to the others.

tuerit concedere fratribus minoribus quod haberent granaria et cellaria vel quod congregarent vinum et bladum ad conservandum in communi pro tempore futuro ad suum usum, et credidit quod dominus papa faciendo hoc peccavit et fecit contra euangelium Christi. ¶ Item quod fratres minores non debent nec tenentur eidem pape in hoc obedire, nec ad hoc possunt cogi, et credidit quod decretalis super hoc facta injusta est et iniqua; quia fuit destructio vite Christi et euangelice paupertatis. Credidit etiam quod fratres minores qui procuraverunt dictam concessionem sibi fieri per dominum papam heretici sunt effecti, cum ipsi promississent servare regulam sancti Francisci et eam defendere debuissent. ¶ Item credidit quod omnes qui consenserunt vel consenciunt domino pape in dicta constitutione peccaverunt et peccant, et fecerunt ac faciunt contra euangelium Christi." Ibid.

In the next passage we have the doctrine of a two-fold Antichrist, and the assertion that the Pope was the mystical Antichrist, the precursor of the great Antichrist, and the devil of mid-day, in allusion to Ps. xc. 6, [Vulgate version:]—"¶ Item credidit eundem dominum papam Johannem XXII. esse mysticum antichristum preparatorem vie majoris antichristi et demonium meridianum et lupum rapacem à fidelibus evitandum avertentem fideles à bona via." p. 304. That Pope John XXII. was a heretic, and that the visible, or, as they called it, the carnal Church, was the Babylon of the Apocalypse:—"¶ Item credidit esse catholicos et fideles et martires Jesu Christi illos etiam beguinos de tercio ordine qui dixerunt se credere et tenere quod dominus papa Johannes XXII^{us}. esset hereticus, et quod prelati alii et inquisitores qui dictos fratres fuerunt persecuti essent etiam heretici, et quod prelati alii et inquisitores qui dictos fratres fuerunt persecuti essent etiam heretici, et quod doctrina fratris Petri Johannis Olivi tota erat catholica, et quod ecclesia carnalis esset Babilon magna

meretrix deicienda et destruenda à Christo, sicut synagoga Judeorum fuit dejecta et destructa incipiente ecclesia primitiva quamvis propter predicta et alia fuerunt tanquam heretici condempnati." Ibid. "¶ Item non obstante quod eidem Petro moresii constituto in iudicio dictum et expositum fuit quod per determinacionem concordem octo magistrorum in theologia qui de mandato seu ordinacione domini pape examinauerunt postillam super apocalipsim predicti fratris Petri Johannis inventi fuerant in eadem multi articuli erronei et heretici blasfemi temerarii aut divinaciones continentes et blasfemias expressas contra Romanam ecclesiam, quam ibidem exponit et vocat carnalem ecclesiam et babilonem meretricem magnam de qua scribitur in apocalipsi, et quod debebat reici à Christo sicut synagoga fuit rejecta, et multa alia mala que sibi expresse dicta fuerunt contineri in dicta postilla, dixit se credere et tenere omnia contenta in dicta postilla esse vera et catholica asserens eam fuisse approbatam in generali concilio Viennensi." p. 306.

The condemnation of the Roman Church, and of all other religious orders except the Franciscans, is again strongly stated in the following paragraph :—"¶ Item credidit et credebat quod dominus papa Johannes xxii^{us}. qui nunc est, quem vocat aprum de silva, destruxit clausuram ecclesie, et quod plus fecit de malo ecclesie Dei quam fecerint omnes heretici priores, quia tempore priorum hereticorum adhuc ecclesia Dei remansit in statu suo, set nunc non videtur esse Dei set dyaboli synagoga. ¶ Item credidit et credebat, quod rejecta ecclesia carnali Romana eligerentur pauci viri spirituales in quibus fundaretur ecclesia tercii status, qui pugnarent contra antichristum, super quos equaliter vel in majori habundancia infunderetur spiritus sanctus, sicut super apostolos venit et descendit in die pentecostes, et in dictis viris spiritualibus spiritus sanctus infunderetur sicut flamma ignis in fornace. ¶ Item credidit et credebat esse phariseos omnes religiosos alios, qui persequerentur fratres minores

qui vocabantur spirituales, et beguinos de tercio ordine sancti francisci eisdem adherentes." Ibid.

The doctrine of a two-fold antichrist is again alluded to in the confession of "Bernardus de na jacma," from which I shall only quote the following passage:—"¶ Item dixit se credidisse quod tria tempora erant ecclesie, scilicet ab Adam usque ad Christum, quod tempus appropriatur patri, quia fuit tempus potencie. Secundum tempus incepit à Christo, et durabit usque ad antichristum vel usque ad persecucionem vite euangelice, quod tempus est appropriatum filio. Et tercium tempus erit usque ad finem mundi, quod erit tempus benignitatis, et est appropriatum spiritui sancto." [The reader will observe that this is exactly Joachim's doctrine.] "¶ Item dixit se credidisse quod sicut synagoga Judeorum fuit reprobata et rejecta adveniente ecclesia primitiva quia crucifixit Christum, ita adveniente nova ecclesia, in tercio statu, reprobabitur et rejicietur ecclesia ista nostra, quia persecuetur, et persequitur vitam domini Jesu Christi in viris euangelicis, et succedet tertia ecclesia. ¶ Item dixit se credidisse quod ecclesia Romana, quam ipse ecclesiam carnalem apellat, sic illa babilon meretrix magna de qua dicitur in apocalipsi quod sedebat super bestiam habentem capita vii. et cornua x. ¶ Item dixit se credidisse quod duo erunt antichristi, scilicet mysticus et realis, et fuit in dubio tali quod non credebat nec discredebat an dominus Johannes papa xxii^{us}. esset mysticus antichristus, et aliquando credidit quod mysticus antichristus et realis una persona esset." [Here we may observe a great step to the modern doctrine, in the assertion that the mystical and real Antichrists were probably one person.] "¶ Item dixit se credidisse quod post mortem antichristi totus mundus erit fidelis et benignus, et in tantum quod una puella virgo poterit sola ire de Roma usque ad sanctum Jacobum, et non inveniet qui eam ad malum sollicitet. ¶ Item dixit se credidisse quod infra annum quo computabitur incarnacio Domini

m^o.ccc^o.xxx. Antichristus major fecerit cursum suum et erit mortuus." p. 308.

We have the same doctrine in the confession of Raymund de Antusano :—"¶ Item credidit et tenuit doctrinam et scripturam fratris P. Johannis Olivi de ordine fratrum minorum esse veram fidelem et catholicam, et specialiter postillam ipsius super apocalipsim quam habuit et tenuit transpositam in vulgari, et frequenter legit in ea etiam aliis personis audientibus, et audivit legi ab aliis aliquociens totam aut majorem partem, in qua audivit legi aut ipsemet legit ea que secuntur, videlicet de tribus temporibus seu statibus generalibus mundi, et de septem statibus ecclesie qui ibidem distinguuntur, et de dupplici antichristo, videlicet de mistico et de magno, qui debet venire in tercio decimo centenario annorum computando à passione vel resurrectione Christi, et audivit ab aliis beguinis dici et teneri quod misticus antichristus erat dominus papa qui nunc est, et quod preparabat viam majori antichristo, quia persequabatur vitam euangelicam in pauperibus Christi, super quo ipse titubabat. ¶ Item in dicta postilla legit vel audivit legi quod in secundo statu generali mundi qui concurrit cum sexto statu speciali ecclesie in fine illius status fiet iudicium de babilone id est de ecclesia carnali, quia ipsa persequitur et persequetur veritatem Christi in pauperibus suis, et finaliter ipsa condempnabit et crucifiget sanctam vitam et sanctam paupertatem Christi, et ideo ipsa reprobabitur et condempnabitur per x. cornua bestie exceptis electis qui liberabuntur per quos ecclesia spiritualis fundabitur et veritas Christi exaltabitur et predicabitur, et audivit dici et teneri à beguinis quod nunc incipiebat esse tempus illud. Ipse autem hoc non credebat nec discredebat. ¶ Item in dicta postilla legit vel audivit legi Romanam ecclesiam esse illam babilonem meretricem magnam sedentem super bestiam que habebat capita vii. et cornua x. et erat inebriata sanguine sanctorum. Item dictam ecclesiam esse fornicatam et re-

cessisse à fidei cultu Christi sponsi sui per carnales delicias et divicias. ¶ Item audivit dici et teneri à beguinis, quod sanctus Franciscus crucifigeretur spiritualiter in membris suis, sicut Christus crucifigitur in martiribus suis, et hoc accipiebant et exponebant de fratribus pauperibus tercii ordinis qui condempnabantur pro defensione Regule sancti Francisci." pp. 311, 312.

And in the confession of Maria de Serra, who is described as "uxor quondam Jacobi de serra filiaque quondam Johannis de goione de cincta gavella, dicens se esse de ordine fratrum de penitencia, vel de terciio ordine sancti Francisci, recepta ad professionem dicti ordinis cum publico instrumento." She states that she had received the doctrine of the Pope being the mystical antichrist from a man who came from Narbonne with the relics of one of the Beguins who were burned at Marseilles ^b :—

"¶ Item ab eodem audivit et credidit quod dominus papa Johannes XXII^{us}. qui nunc est, erat precursor antichristi et preparator vie ejus, et quod tempore ipsius debebat institui alter papa, et quod tunc nullus gauderet de rebus quas haberet, quia insurgerent magne guerre, et unus homo alium occideret, et non esset pax alicubi. Audivit etiam ab eodem et credidit quod dictus dominus papa qui nunc est erat mysticus antichristus, et quod poneret majorem antichristum in cathedra, quia ut dicebat tempore istius domini pape debebat apparere antichristus, et quod nullus alius papa esset post istum ante antichristum, et quod antichristus major natus erat, et habebat ultra xx. annos etatis, et erat ejus opinio quod dictus antichristus primo esset reli-

^b It is to be particularly remarked in these confessions, that, although the Beguins held the Pope, that is to say the individual Pope John XXII. to be the mystical Antichrist, the precursor of the true Antichrist, they had not as yet arrived at the point of denouncing the *Popedom* under that name. On the contrary, Petrus Moresii de bello-podio, after asserting the superiority of the order of St. Francis above the

giosus et esset de ordine fratrum minorum ^c, et quod veniret in specie sanctitatis et perfectionis, et quod Fredericus rex Sicilie multa mala et dampna inferret ecclesie et magnas guerras faceret contra eam." pp. 318, 319.

Many other testimonies to the reception of this doctrine amongst the Franciscans of that period might be quoted from these confessions ; but enough has been now laid before the reader to enable him to form a judgment of the nature of the opinions then popular with those sectarians, and also perhaps to convince him that denunciations of the Church of Rome as Babylon, and other similar applications of the Apocalyptic prophecies, were not so peculiar to the Waldensian and Albigensian sects, as Mede and his followers seem to have imagined.

On the whole, however, I think it appears that there is nothing in the history or general character of the sects amongst whom the peculiar expositions of the book of Revelation to which I allude originated, to induce us to expect from them any new or important light on the real meaning of the prophecies of holy scripture ; still less is there any good ground for the opinion, that the rise of these very sects was itself a fulfilment of prophecy—that in them many did go to and fro, and knowledge was increased, or

state of bishops and all other prelates, specially excepts the Popedom. "Item credidit quod ordo fratrum minorum, si servetur regula sancti Francisci, est perfectior in vita, et alcior status, et magis imitatur vitam Christi quam aliquis alter status qui sit in ecclesia Dei, sive sit status prelatorum sive religiosorum, excepto dumtaxat statu papali." p. 305.

^c The opinion here alluded to, that the real antichrist shall be a religious, and of the order of St. Francis, may seem at first sight a strange assertion to be uttered by a member of that order ; but it will be explained by the following passage from the confession of Bernard de najacma, (p. 308.) "Item dixit se audivisse quod frater P. Johannis dixerat, quod antichristus debebat esse de altiori religione fratrum minorum, quia Lucifer fuit de supremo ordine angelorum."

that by the labours of such interpreters the mysteries of the prophets were unsealed, and the book laid open.

On the contrary, it has been shewn that these sects were for the most part corrupt in doctrine, or ignorant and superstitious in their practice, and that their denunciations of the Roman Church as the Babylon of prophecy, were the offspring of a spirit very different indeed from that in which we should seek for the true interpretation of a book of which it is written "Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, AND KEEP THOSE THINGS THAT ARE WRITTEN THEREIN."

NOTE E.—See LECTURE IV. p. 176.

The Divisions of Alexander's Kingdom.

THE original historians who have recorded the divisions of the kingdom of Alexander are Quintus Curtius, lib. x. cap. 10, sq., Diodorus Siculus, Biblioth. Histor. lib. xviii. Dexippus and Arrian in fragments preserved by Photius, (Biblioth. cod. lxxxii. and cod. xcii.,) Justin, Hist. lib. xiii., and Orosius, Hist. lib. iii. cap. xxiii. To these may be added the brief notice in the first book of Maccabees, which has been already referred to in note ^u, page 172.

It might be enough, perhaps, to say here, in addition to the remarks already made upon this subject, that in none of the accounts handed down to us by the above mentioned historians, and they are our only sources of information, is the slightest foundation to be found for the hypothesis, that Alexander's kingdom came ultimately to be divided into four. But, as commentators and expositors of prophecy

have spoken of the four kingdoms, as if their existence was a well ascertained and notorious fact, it may be desirable to enable the reader to form some estimate of the real state of the case by presenting him with a tabular view of the divisions of Alexander's kingdom, according to each of the authors above referred to.

This table was first given by Andrew Schott in his edition of the *Bibliotheca* of Photius, fol. Genevæ, 1612, p. 230, and was republished with some additions by Raderus in his notes on Quintus Curtius. I shall give it here from this last authority^d :—

“CURTIANA REGNORUM ET PROVINCIARUM DESIGNATIO.

Rex	} obtineret	Summam Imperii.
Ptolemæus		Ægyptum et Africæ gentes, quæ in ditione erant.
Laomedon		Syriam cum Phœnice.
Philotas		Ciliciam.
Antigonus		Lyciam cum Pamphylia et majore Phrygia.
Cassander		Cariam.
Menander		Lydiam.
Leonnatus		Phrygiam minorem Helesponto adjunctam.
Eumenes		Cappadociam cum Paphlagonia usque ad Trapezunta.
Pithon		Mediam.
Lysimachus		Thraciam, appositasque Thraciæ Ponticas gentes.
Perdiccas		Præfecturam copiarum, quæ regem sequebantur.

“DIODORI SICULI.

“Siculus pauca in hæc verba præfatus^e: ‘Meleagro sibi duce creato Macedones cum armis in refragantes suis studiis procedunt. Cumque et stipatores regii Babylonem egressi ad bellum se præpararent, gratiosissimi inter illos, ut concordiam resarcirent, utrisque persuaserunt. Nec

^d Mathæi Raderi S. J. ad Q. Curtii Rufi de Alexandro M. historiam commentarii. fol. Col. Agripp. 1628. p. 670, et sq. I have corrected a few typographical errors, and I have also inserted within brackets some references that seemed necessary to assist such readers as may desire to consult for themselves the original authors.

^e “Lib. xviii. p. 587.” [tom. ii. p. 258. ed. Wesseling. Amst. 1746.]

mora : Arridæum Philippi F. inque Philippi nomen adoptatum, regem, et Perdiccam, cui etiam rex moriens annulum tradiderat, regni procuratorem designant; et amicorum stipulatorumque primarias administrare provincias, regique et Perdiccæ obedientiam præstare jubent. Ille rerum summam adeptus, consilio ducum advocato,'

“ Arridæus Rex

Ptolemæo Lagi	In Asia tradit	Egyptum.
Pythoni		Mediam.
Eumeni		Paphlagoniam et Cappadociam et conterminas illis regiones.
Antigono		Pamphyliam Lyciamque, et quæ magna vocatur, Phrygiam.
Cassandro	In Europa tradit	Cariam.
Meleagro		Lydiam.
Leonnato ^f		Phrygiam ad Hellespontum.
Lysimacho		Thraciam cum finitimis ad Pontum gentibus.
Antipatro		Macedoniam cum vicinis populis.

“ Ducibus reliquis in Asia prætermittas provincias,

Oxyartæ Socero Alex. M.	Indiam et Indis proxima tradit	Caucasum et Paropamisadas.
Siburtio		Arachosiam et Gedrosiam.
Stasanori Solio		Arianam et Drangianam.
Philippo prætori	committit	Bactrianam et Sogdianam.
Phratapherni		Parthiam et Hyrcaniam.
Peucestæ		Persidem.
Tlepolemo		Carmaniam.
Atrapæ		Mediam.
Archoni		Babyloniam.
Arcesilao		Mesopotamiam.
Seleuco		regium omnem equitatum, cui primum Hephæstio, dein Perdicca præfuerat.
Taxili et Poro		sua utrique regna, ab Alexandro reddita et aucta, relicta.

“ Perdiccam rex secum retinuit, et præfectum prætorio, copiisque quæ regem sequebantur, præfecit.

“ **DIVISIO PROVINCIARUM IMPERII ALEX. M. A. PERDICCA FACTA APUD ARRIANUM.**

“ Cum prius ex pacto pedites inter equitesque^g.

Antipater	Exercitus dux per Europam,	} constituti fuissent.
Craterus	Tutor regni Arridæi,	
Perdiccas	Tribunus militaris pro Hephæstione,	

^f “ Hunc Curtius cæsum a Perdicca affirmat.” ^g [Photius Cod. xcii.]

Ptolemæus Lagi	} imperare jussus	{	Ægypto, Libyæ, et Arabiæ, quoad hæc Ægypti fines attingit.
F.			Loco Ptolomæi vicaria potestate.
Cleomenes			Syriæ.
Laomedon			Ciliciæ.
Philotas			Mediæ.
Pithon			Cappadociæ, Paphlagoniæ, et Euxino Ponto finitimis, Trapezuntem usque.
Eumenes Cardianus			Pamphylis, Lyciis, et Phrygiæ majori.
Antigonus			Caribus.
Cassander			Lydis.
Menander			Phrygiæ, quæ est ad Hellespontum.
Leonnatus			

“ Sic Asia partita. In Europa vero :

Lysimachus	} impera re jussus	{	Thraciæ, Cherroneso, omnibusque Thracibus finitimis gentibus, ad Salmydessum Euxini Ponti.
Craterus			Omnibus, quæ ultra Thraciam sunt locis, usque ad Illyrios, Triballos, et Agrianos; ipsi quoque Macedoniæ, et Epiro ad Ceraunios usque montes, et omnibus Græcis.

“ ALTERA PROVINCIARUM DIVISIO PER ANTIPATRUM.

“ Ex eodem Arriano. [Photius Cod. xcii. in epitome noni libri.]

Ptolemæus	} accepit	{	Ægyptum, Lybiam, et vastam, quæ has ultra est, regionem.
Laomedon Mitylenæus			Syriam.
Philoxenus			Ciliciam.
Amphimachus			Mesopotamiam et Arbelen.
Seleucus			Babyloniam.
Antigenes			Susianam satrapiam.
Peucestes			Persida.
Tlepolemus			Carmaniam.
Pithon			Mediam usque ad Caspias portas.
Philippus			Parthysæorum regionem.
Stasander			Areiorum et Drangenorum provinciam.
Stasanor Soliensis			Bactrianen et Sogdianen.
Sibyrtius			Arachotos.
Oxyartes Rhoxanes P.			Parapamisadas.
Pithon Agenoris F.			Finitimos Parapamisadibus.
Porus Indus			Quæ ad Indum fluvium sunt, et Patala urbem.
Taxiles Indus			Provinciam ad Hydaspem fluvium.
Nicanor			Cappadocas.
Antigonus			Phrygiam majorem, Lycaonas, Pamphylis, Lycios, ut prius.
Asander			Caryam.
Clitus			Lydiam.
Aridæus			Phrygiam ad Hellespontum.
Antigenes			Collectionem vectigalium Susianorum.
Antolicus Agatholis F.	} acceperunt regii corporis custodiam.	{	
Amyntas Alexandri F. idemque Peucestis frater			

Ptolemæus Ptolemæi F. }
 Alexander Polysperchontis F. } acceperunt regii corporis custodiam.

Cassander Antipatri F. } accepit { Præturam equitum.
 Antigonus } Imperium in Perdiccæ olim copias et re-
 gum præsidium.

“ DIVISIO IMPERII MACEDONICI PERDICCA DISTRIBUENTE.

“ Apud Dexippum. [Photius Cod. lxxxii.]

“ IN ASIA.

Ptolemæo	} obvenit	{	Ægyptus universa, et Lybia, et quidquid ultra
Cleomeni \			Ægyptum attingit.
Laomedonti Mi-			Ptolemæi vicarium præfectum agere.
tylenæo			Syria.
Philotæ			Cilicia.
Pithoni			Media.
Eumeni			Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, et quidquid ad Pontum
			Euxinum vergit Trapezuntem usque.
Antigono			Pamphyli et Cilices usque ad Phrygiam.
Asandro			Cares.
Menandro	Lydi.		
Leonnato	Phrygia ad Hellespontum.		

“ IN EUROPA.

Lysimacho	} obvenerunt	{	Thracia et Cherronesus.
Antipatro			Omnes Macedones, Græci, Illyrii, Triballi,
			Agrianes, et quæcumque in Epiro
Cratero			Tutoris ac curatoris regii dignitas.
Perdiccæ			Chiliarchia Hephæstionis.

“ APUD INDOS.

Poro	} obvenerunt	{	Indum inter, et Hidaspen populi.
Taxilæ			Indi reliqui.
Pithoni alteri			Indorum finitimi, exceptis Parapamisadibus.
Oxyarti Bactrio			Caucaseis subjecti montibus populi, Indis
Roxanes patri			proximi.
Sibyrtio			Arachosii atque Gadrosii.
Stasatori Soliensi			Arei et Drangi.
Philippo			Sogdiani.
Rhadapherno			Hircania.
Neoptolemo			Carmania.
Peucestæ			Persæ.
Oropio			Sogdianorum pars.
Seleuco			Babylonii.
Archelao			Mesopotania.

“ MACEDONICARUM PROVINCIARUM PARTITIO.

“ Apud Justinum libro XIII.

Accipiunt a Perdicca	{	Ptolemæus	Ægyptum et Africæ Arabiæque partem.
		Laomedon Mitylenæus	Syriam.
		Philotas cum filio	Ciliciam et Illyricos.
		Acropatos	Mediam majorem.
		Alcetas Perdiccæ frater	Mediam minorem.

	Scynus	Susianam gentem.
	Antigonus Philippi F.	Phrygiam majorem.
	Nearchus	Lyciam et Pamphyliam.
	Cassander	Cariam.
	Menander	Lydiam.
	Leonnatus	Phrygiam minorem.
	Lysimachus	Thraciam et regiones Pontici maris.
	Eumenes	Cappadociam cum Paphlagonia.
	Seleucus Antiochi F.	Summum castrorum tribunatum.
	Cassander Antipatri F.	Præfecturam stipatorum regis, satellitumque.
Accipiunt a Perdicca	Taxiles	Rex Indum inter et Hydaspen flu.
	Pithon Agenoris F.	Colonias in Indiis conditas.
	Parapomenus	Fines Caucasi montis.
	Extarces	Drancas.
	Statanor	Argæos.
	Amyntas	Bactrianos.
	Scythæus	Sogdianos.
	Nicanor	Parthos.
	Philippus	Hyrcanos.
	Phratafernes	Armenios.
	Tlepolemus	Persas.
	Peucestes	Babylonios.
	Archos	Pelasgas.
	Archesilaus	Mesopotamiam.

“ Orosius ^b suæ divisioni præfatus, Macedoniam, inquit, duces ‘ mortuo Alexandro diversas sortiti provincias, mutuis se bellis consumpserunt: quorum ego tumultuosissimum tempus ita mihi spectare videor, quasi aliqua immensa castra per noctem de specula montis aspectans, nihil in magni campi spatio præter innumeros socios cernam. Ita per totum Macedoniæ regnum, hoc est, per universam Asiam et plurimam Europæ partem, Libyæque vel maximam, horrendi subito bellorum globi colluxerunt: qui cum ea præcipue loca, in quibus exarsere, populati sunt, reliqua omnia terrore rumoris, quasi fumi caligine, turbaverunt. Sed nequaquam tantorum regum ac regnorem bella eccidiaque explicaba, nisi prius ipsa cum regibus regna prodidero. Igitur Alexander per duodecim annos trementem sub se orbem ferro pressit. Principes vero ejus xiv. annis dilaniaverunt, et veluti opimam prædam, a magno leone prostratam, avidi discerpere catuli: seque ipsos invicem in rixam irritatos prædæ æmulatione fregerunt. Itaque prima Ptolemæo

^b “ Lib. III. cap. ult. v. 4.”

Ægypti et Africæ Arabiæque pars sorte provenit. Confinem huic provinciæ Syriam Laomedon Mitylinæus, Ciliciam Philotas, Philo Illyrios accipiunt. Mediæ majori Atropatus, minori socer Perdiccæ præponitur. Susiana gens Scyno, Phrygia major Antigono, Philippi filio, assignatur. Lyciam et Pamphyliam Nearchus, Cariam Cassander, Lydiam Menander sortiuntur, Leonnatus minorem Phrygiam accipit. Thracia et regiones Pontici maris Lysimacho, Cappadocia cum Paphlagonia Eumeni data: summa castrorum Seleuco Antiochi filio cessit; stipatoribus regis satellitibusque Cassander filius Antipatri præficiuntur. In Bactriana ulteriore et Indiæ regionibus præfecti, qui sub Alexandro esse cœperant, permanserunt. Seras inter duos amnes Hydaspem et Indum constitutos Taxiles habuit. In colonias in Indis conditas Pithon Agenoris filius mittitur. Parapamenos fines Caucasi montis Oxyartes accepit. Arachosii Gedrosiique Siburtio decernuntur. Dranges et Areos Stasanor, Bactrianos Amyntas sortitur, Sogdianos Scythæus, Nicanor Parthos, Philippus Hyrcanios, Phratephernes Armenios, Tlepolemus Persas, Peucestes Babylonios, Archon Pelasgos, Arcelaus Mesopotamiam adepti sunt.' ”

I may now, I trust, appeal to every unprejudiced mind whether it be fair to refer us to historians who have given the foregoing accounts of the division of Alexander's kingdom, in support of the assertion that it was divided after his death into four only, or even into four principal parts ¹.

¹ Raderus quotes Daniel as a separate historical authority, and as if he had expressly asserted that Alexander's kingdom was divided into four. “Sanctissimus autem vates Daniel in oraculis suis ait, regnum regis Græcorum divisum in quatuor regna.” (Ubi supr. p. 673.) And Freinsheim, in his notes on Q. Curt. lib. x. c. 10, n. 1, seems to think that this was an error of Daniel's, in which St. Jerome and others blindly followed him. Speaking of a writer who had asserted the four-fold division, he says: “Quod forte acceperit ex D. Hieronymo,

On the contrary, I think it appears that its divisions were extremely numerous, and a more close inspection of the history, will shew that it is impossible to fix upon any four of them, (even if we consent to neglect the rest,) that remained as kingdoms in the same condition for twenty years together. The following extract from Venema's Dissertations on the Emblematical Prophecies of Daniel, contains so full a statement of these events, and is so important to the right understanding of this subject, that I do not know how I can better put my readers into possession of the real facts of the case. Its value as a synopsis of the history, and as a guide to, I believe, all the authorities, will, it is hoped, be a sufficient apology for its length. It should perhaps be premised, that the object of the writer was to shew that Alexander's kingdom had been divided into *ten* after his death, and that the portion of the prophecy generally interpreted of the Roman empire, was really fulfilled in the empire of the Greeks¹.

“Primum igitur regni quarti, vel posterioris ejus periodi, adtributum est, illud, antea in una gente et rege unitum, in varias partes esse distrahendum, easque ad *decem* regna, inde oritura, commode referri posse, per *decem* digitos pedum repræsentata. Quæ in regno Alexandrino, post Alexandri mortem, haud difficulter demonstrantur; sive ad *divisionem* in genere, sive ad numerum *denarium* in specie respicias. Regnum Alexandri, magno ejus conditore mortuo, primum in præfecturas, et Satrapias, mox in regna fuisse disjunctum, notius est, quam ut adfirmare necesse sit. Tantum, ut characterem regni Alexandrini in eo fuisse positum adpareat, antiquorum historicorum nonnulla testimonia non abs re fuerit in medium adtulisse. In multas *satrapias*

qui eundem errorem erravit ad Daniel, cap. viii. quem, ut solet, clausis oculis sequuntur.” (Valpy's Delphin and Varior. classics; Q. Curt. tom. iii. p. 1546.)

¹ See what has been said on this theory, p. 128, note °.

fuisse illud regnum *distractum*, habent App. Alex. in præf. et Dionys. Halic. Ant. l. i. pag. 2, in *regna* divisum, Pausan. Att. cap. 6. Sic et Latini loquuntur. Liv. xlv. 9, *tum maximum in terris Macedonum regnum, nomenque inde a morte Alexandri distractum in multa regna.* Curt. x. 5. *Huic regi, ducique successor quærebatur; sed major moles erat, quam ut unus eam subire posset. Itaque nomen quoque ejus et fama rerum in totum propemodum orbem reges ac regna diffudit; clarissimique sunt habiti, qui etiam minimæ parti tantæ fortunæ adhæserunt.* Justin. l. xiii. c. 4, divisione accuratius exposita, ita pergit. *Cum hæc divisio veluti fatale munus singulis contigisset, ita magna incrementorum materia plurimis fuit. Siquidem non magno post tempore quasi regna, non præfecturas, divisissent; sic reges ex præfectis facti, magnas opes non sibi tantum paraverunt, verum etiam posteris reliquerunt.* Corn. Nep. in Eumene, c. 2. *Alexandro Babylone mortuo, cum regna singulis familiaribus dispartirentur, &c.* Ipsam quoque divisionem, de qua hic agere non licet, accuratius præter Just. l. c. et Diod. Sic. l. xviii. tradiderunt Arrianus et Dexippus apud Phot. cod. lxxxii. et xcii. et ex recentioribus Freinshem. ad Curt. x. 10.

“Cum vero *divisionis* verbum apud Hebr. *legitimæ* distributionis intellectum quoque præbeat, ut cum terra primum fuit divisa, Gen. x. 25, coll. Deut. xxxii. 8, hunc significatum ab hac historia non esse alienum, verbo operæ pretium fuerit notasse. Ipsum Alexandrum testamento singulis præfectis provincias distribuisse, quod quidam, teste Curt. x. fine, tradiderunt, inter quos auctor l. Macc. i. 6, quoque est, equidem, repugnantibus historicis, qui supersunt, non adfirmaverim; sed variis vicibus et modis eam ab ipsis præfectis et successoribus Alexandri fuisse factam, ex historia constat. Prima vice, mox post Alexandri mortem, inter duces convenit, ut summa rerum penes Philippum Aridæum esset *nomine*, sed *re* penes Perdiccam tanquam

tutorem, et administratorem regni, reliquis ducibus partes, tanquam *satrapæ*, cederent. Ex qua divisione *Antipater* præfectus Macedoniæ et Græciæ factus est, *Lysimachus* Thraciæ et finitimarum regionum ad Pontum, *Eumenes* Cappadociæ, Paphlagoniæ et vicinarum regionum ab Alexandro non occupatarum, *Antigonus* Pamphiliæ, Lyciæ et Phrygiæ majoris, *Cassander* Cariæ, *Laomedon* Syriæ et Phœniciæ, *Ptolomæus* Ægypti. Secunda vice, post Perdiccam loco motum et Antipatrum gubernatorem constitutum, eadem distributio fuit in Triparadiso, urbe superioris Syriæ a. P. J. 4393, repetita, cum hac tantum variatione, quod provinciæ Eumeni ademptæ et Nicanori datæ fuerint, Seleucus quoque Nicator, antea præteritus, acceperit præfecturam Babyloniæ. Antigono denique belli cum Eumene gerendi cura est demandata, qui propterea *ἐπισκοπος* *Episcopus totius Asiæ*, et *στρατηγὸς dux supremus* dictus est. Tertia divisio, post bellum inter foederatos, qui erant Cassander, Lysimachus, Ptolemæus et Seleucus, et Antigonom ac Demetrium, ejus filium, varia fortuna, sed Antigono tandem iniquiore, gestum, et pacem initam a. P. J. 4403, hanc in formam facta est, ut *Cassander* supremus Europæ dux, donec Alexander, Rhoxanis ex Alex. M. filius, adlesceret, esset, Lysimachus teneret Thraciam, Ptolemæus Ægyptum cum vicinis in Libya et Arabia urbibus, Antigonus totam Asiam, Græciæ vero urbes forent liberæ. Novis mox exortis motibus, post domum Alexandri M. extirpatum, belloque inter foederatos Cassandrum, Lysimachum, Ptolemæum ac Seleucum ab altera, et Antigonom, Demetriumque ejus filium, ab altera parte, suscitato, Antigonus, posteaquam Demetrius Ptolemæum ingente clade adfecisset, et Cyprum ei eripuisset, hoc rerum suarum successu elatus, primus diadema sumsit, et Demetrio quoque imposuit. Quod cum foederati mox imitarentur, sex reges subito in scenam prodierunt, Antigonus, Demetrius, Ptolemæus, Lysimachus, Cassander, et ultimus Seleucus, qui

per orientem ditionis suæ pomœria jam dilataverat. Factum hoc est a. P. J. 4408, ante Aer. Vulg. 304. Bello deinde majoribus utrinque viribus renovato, et prælio decretorio apud Ipsum in Phrygia commisso, Antigonus debellatus et occisus, regnumque ejus extinctum est, a. 4413. *Victores vero reges totum Antigoni et Demetrii regnum*, ut verbis Plut. in Demetrio, p. 902, utar, *sicut magnum corpus discriptum dividerunt inter se, suisque provinciis adjunxerunt*. Ex hac quarta et ultima divisione Ptolemæus regnum suum retinuit, eique adjunxit Cœlesyriam, Phœniciam, et Judæam; Lysimachus præter Thraciam accepit Bithyniam, aliasque regiones ad latus Asiaticum Hellesponti et Bospori, Cassander Macedoniam et Græciam consecutus est, Seleucus reliqua Asiæ, adeo ut ab eo tempore regnum Syro Macedonum condiderit. Supererat *Demetrius*, multas in Asia regiones tenens, mox iis relictis Macedoniam occupans. Cum vero regno Macedoniae et Græciæ non contentus, Asiam invadere, et regnum paternum recuperare adgrederetur, Lysimachum, Ptolomæum et Seleucum, federatos in se concitavit: novique, sed sibi fatalis, belli semina jecit. Regnum enim Macedoniae a Pyrrho Epirotarum rege, qui se foederatis adjunxerat, occupatum, non tantum perdidit, sed et in Asia ab Agathocle, filio Lysimachi, in tantas conjectus est angustias, ut fuga sibi consulere, et se Seleuco in manus tradere, fuerit coactus. Quod regno ejus in Asia finem imposuit. Quo facto Lysimachus, Pyrrho ejecto ex Macedonia, eam sibi subjecit a. P. J. 4428, tenuitque ann. 5, donec, bello inter Lysimachum et Seleucum, qui soli restabant, conflato, Lysimachus et vitam et regnum perdiderit in prælio decretorio in Phrygia apud *κυρονπέδιον Cyri campum*, a. P. J. 4433, de quo postea.

“ Ex hisce continuis bellorum fluctibus, per Alexandri duces suscitatis, tria maxima emerserunt Regna, ad posteros longa serie propagata, MACEDONICUM, quod post Seleucum,

tenuit Ptolemæus Ceraunus, et dein in domo Demetrii aliquandiu substitit, SYRO-MACEDONICUM, a Seleuco Nicator conditum, de quo postea, et ÆGYPTIACUM, quod Ptolemæus *Lagi* fundavit, et ad posteros transtulit. Sed, præter hæc præcipua et majora regna, exorta sunt plura alia, partim eodem tempore, partim paulo post: quorum origines verbo pandam. Primum locum, ut ordinem temporis, quo nata sunt, observem, sibi vindicat MEDIA ATROPATIA, ab Atropate, regni conditore, sic adpellata: qui Medorum præfectus in bello Darii cum Alexandro constitutus, ut patet ex Arrian. exp. Al. iii. 8, et iv. p. 177, vii. p. 277. Diod. Sic. p. 588, in prima divisione regni sub Perdicca, qui ejus gener fuit, Satrapiam retinuit, Diod. Sic. xviii. p. 588, sed in *secunda* sub Antipatro amisit, Id. ib. p. 618. Qua injuria motus minorem Mediam, de nomine suo Atropatiam dictam, occupavit, et regnum ibi condidit haud spernendum; cum 40 peditum, et 10 equitum millia in campum producere potuerit, teste Apollonide apud Strab. l. xi. pag. 794, qui addit, *successionem* ejus ad suum tempus durasse; obstitisse vero Atropata, ne in *Macedonum potestatem*, scilicet post Alexandrum, *venerit* Media Atropatia, ea sibi vindicata. Polyb. l. v. p. 557. ubi de amplitudine, et fortitudine hujus regni etiam testatur, minus accurate ejus durationem a Persarum temporibus derivat, illudque tempore Alexandri fuisse neglectum addens.

“ Haud diu post, durante adhuc tempestate bellica inter duces Alexandri, duo regna, eodem fere tempore, condita sunt in PONTO et CAPPADOCIA, illud a *Mithridate*, hoc ab *Ariarathe*, utrumque tempore belli foederatorum cum *Antigono*. Mithridates, ortu Persa, imo ex stirpe unius 7 Persarum, qui Magum Smerdim occiderunt, secundum Diod Sic. xix. pag. 585, et Polyb. l. v. pag. 540, cujus majores, Satraparum titulo, sub Persis in Ponto dominatum tenuerant, Antigono in bello cum Eumene familiaris, et

sub ipso militans, subito in odium ejus incidit, occasione somnii, quo Antigonus somniarat, *se aurum seminare in arvo, illud vero demessum Mithridatem in Pontum asportare*. Antigoni animo, quo necem suam volvit, intellecto, Mithridates cum paucis comitibus in Pontum aufugit, ut Antigoni visionem brevi implevit. *Ampla enim et regione potitus est*, ut verba Plutarchi in Demetrio, pag. 890, habent, *regumque Ponti ille stirpem, quæ octava ferme successione a populo Romano deleta est, edidit*. Conf. etiam Id. in Apophtegm. pag. 183, et App. Alex. in Mithrid. pag. 303. Hinc ὁ Κρίστης conditor, distinctionis ergo, adpellatus fuit, ut habet Strab. l. xii. pag. 842, qui addit, *successionem ejus ad Eupatorem*, seu Mithridatem magnum, de quo postea, durasse. Epitheti vero ejus quoque meminit Luc. in Macrob. pag. 470, et eo respexit App. Alex. in Mithrid. pag. 411, ubi Mithridatis mentionem facit, τοῦ Μακεδόνων ἀποστάτης τε, καὶ κτησαμένου τὴν Ποντικὴν ἀρχήν, (si κτισαμένου cum Viro Docto legas,) *qui a Macedonibus defecit, et regnum Ponticum condidit*. De Ponti regibus, eorumque successionem, plura suppeditabunt Reines. ep. 21 et 23. Rupert. ad Flor. lib. iii. cap. 1. Ezek. Spanhem. Num. dissertat. vii. Vaillant in *Archæmenidarum* imperio. Initium vero æræ Ponticæ Cl. Morellus a. U. C. 448. æræ Seleuc. 7, adligavit.

“Regnum CAPPADOCIÆ, sic proprie dictæ, alias *magnæ*, struxit Ariarathes II. post Perdiccæ et Eumenis mortem, cum Antigonus et Seleucus essent bello impliciti, profligato *Aminta* duce Macedonum. De quo legendus est Diod. Sic. in Eclog. pag. 894. Alexander M. Cappadociam reliquerat intactam, si Diod. Sic. l. xviii. pag. 599. adcredimus, sed, si Arriano exp. Al. ii. pag. 65. standum sit, *subegit eam, quæ cis Halyn fluvium est, magnamque partem trans Halyn*, Sabicta Satrapa ibi constituto. Videtur tamen gens sese postea in libertatem vindicasse, dum

Alexander *certaminibus* cum *Dario* esset distractus, ut indicat Diod. Sic. l. c. Utique Perdiccas, mortuo Alexandro, Ariarathem Satrapam Cappadociæ devicit, et cum præcipuis ducibus cruci adfixit, et *Eumeni* hanc Satrapiam gubernandam dedit, ut Diod. Sic. l. c. narrat, et Plut. in Eumen. p. 584. Quo facto Ariarathes II. ut dixi, regionem illam recuperavit, et regnum, ad posteros propagandum, condidit, ipseque propterea *primus* Cappadociæ rex adpellatus est; Strab. l. xii. p. 807. Antea sub Persis Cappadociam, satraparum titulo, tenuerant Ariarathis majores, sed ipse primus stabile regnum ibi erexit. Hac ratione utramque Cappadociam, alteram, Ponticam, alteram hanc, alias *magnam*, Macedones, Persis ereptam, ex duabus Satrapiis, ut antea fuerant, passi sunt, partim sponte partim inviti, in *duo regna* mutari, ut Strab. xii. p. 808, tradit: quorum alterum Mithridatem, alterum *Ariarathem* habet conditorem.

“ In BITHYNIA, ut ejus regnum, circa idem tempus erectum, superioribus adjungam, licet ante Zipoeten principatum habuerint majores ejus, ut ex Memnonis excerptis apud Phot. cod. ccxxiv. et aliunde constat, sive regum, sive Satraparum sub titulo; Bas quoque, sive Bias, pater ejus, quominus in præfecti, ab Alexandro missi, potestatem venerit, impediverit, eodem Memnone teste: attamen *Zipoetes* pro regni fundatore, tempore Lysimachi, habendus est, tum quod antea tributarii fuerint Alexandro et Macedonibus, quod de omnibus illis regionibus adfirmat App. Alex. in Mithrid. p. 302, tum quod ipse, partim a duce Antigoni repressus, et in ordinem redactus, *societatem* cum ipso inierat, datis obsidibus, ut narrat Diod. Sic. l. xix. p. 702, partim sese a Lysimacho vindicaverit, et regnum tuitus fuerit, ac ad posteros transmiserit: ut ex eodem Memnone colligitur. Utique Zipoetes, *cum pulcherrima Alexandri hæreditas*, ut Viri Doctiss. J. Baptistæ Gramay in Hist. Asiatica p. 663, verbis utar, *inter principes ejus et duces*

divideretur, spem faciente illorum discordia, Bithyniam, excusso Macedonum jugo, occupavit, et regni fundamenta ita jecit, ut ab eo epocha regni Bithyniæ duci soleat. Ita G. Syncellus Chronogr. p. 220. Bithyniæ reges octo regni exordium circa hæc tempora, teste Dionysio, sortiuntur, annisque 213, perseverant. Quorum primus fuerit Zipoetes, necesse est, cum 7 post ipsum fuerint. Ceterum, cum Bithynia in Romanorum potestatem venerit a. U. C. 679, annorum 213 initium in a. U. C. 466, erit figendum: quo anno Demetrius excidit regno Macedonico, quod a Lysimacho est occupatum. Cujus æræ vestigia in nummis reperit Ill. Ez. Spanhem. Num. diss. viii.

“ Sub finem Lysimachi, et Seleuci *Nicatoris*, primordia regni PERGAMENI fecit Philetærus, Tianus, ex obscuro genere, et casu eunuchus factus, vir strenuus et fidelis, cui Lysimachus curam et custodiam thesaurorum in arce Pergamena commiserat. Is vero, cum sibi ob familiarem cum Agathocle, filio Lysimachi, a Patre occisi, amicitiam metueret, bello mox inter Lysimachum et Seleucum inde orto, arcem eam sibi vindicavit, et, dum ad superiorem semper ac potentiorē se adplicaret, statum suum ita firmavit, ut potentis ac diuturni regni fundamenta posuerit: quod sub Eumene I. et Attalo I. nepotibus ejus, valde crevit, et per Asiam est dilatatum: adjuncta etiam sub Eumene II., filio Attali, tota Asia, quæ Syriaco regno subjecta, et Antiocho M. per Romanos erepta, Eumeni donata fuit. De origine et successione regni vid. Strab. xii. p. 818, et xiii. p. 925. Pausan. in Att. cap. 8, 10. App. in Syr. p. 209, et ex recentioribus Rupert. ad Besold. p. 213, et Ez. Spanhem. Num. diss. ix. Refert quidem Strab. l. c. Attalum II. primum regium titulum, devictis Galatis, sumpsisse: sed, nisi illud ad ipsum Attalum, non nisi post præclarum illud facinus se eo titulo dignum judicante, ut jam observarunt Docti, restringas, cum aliis autoribus et monumentis vix conciliare poteris. Nomen enim *regis* Eumeni et Attalo, decessoribus

ejus, datur apud Historicos, et ipse Philetærus in Nummis eo ornatur, ut ab Ez. Spanhem, est notatum, nec non ab H. Valesio ad Excerpt. Polyb. p. 19. Sed, quicquid de titulo sit, Philetærus fuit ἀρχηγέτης princeps generis regum Attalicorum, Strab. xii. p. 818. ὁ περγάμου δυναστεύσας qui Pergami principatum tenebat App. Alex. in Syr. p. 209, qui primus ἐκτίσας τὴν περὶ πέργαμον ἀρχὴν, possedit principatum Pergami, et retinuit. Luc. Macrob. p. 470, jure merito itaque regni Pergameni fundator.

“BACTRIÆ regnum, quod Alexander Satrapæ Oxyartæ, ducta etiam ejus filia Rhoxane, reliquerat, ut Curt. viii. 4, et alii narrant, Græci, qui superiores Satrapias tenebant, Alexandro mortuo, a Macedonibus deficientes duce Philone Æneane occuparunt: ex quibus, licet initio a Perdicca, duce Pithone, repressis, ut narrat Diod. Sic. l. xviii. pag. 591, ortum est regnum, quod deinde firmavit et amplificavit Theodotus sub Antiocho Theo. Ab iis enim regnum hoc repetendum esse, ex Strab. l. xi. p. 783, 785, et xv. p. 1006, clare elucet. De quo pluribus disserere non licet. De Theodoto et successoribus vid. Strab. l. c. et Just. xli. qui illud opulentissimum mille urbium imperium adpellat. De Bactriana gente, ejusque potentia, legendus est Curt. l. v. 21. Amm. Marcell. xxiii. 6, præter Strab. l. c.

“ARMENIAM a Persis ad Macedonas, et dein Syro-Macedonas transiisse, cum Strab. l. xi. p. 804, in genere tradidisset, subjungit, ultimum, qui principatum ibi tenuit, fuisse Orontem ex stirpe unius 7 Persarum; quando sub Antiocho M. in duas Satrapias regias divisa est, quas tenuerunt Artaxius et Zadriadus, qui mox ab eo ad Romanos deficientes libera regna ad posteros transtulerunt; donec Tigranes utrumque conjunxerit. Ex quibus mihi haud improbabile fit, ante Artaxium et Zadriadum, Armeniam ab uno fuisse rectam, qui regis titulum habuit: ultimum enim fuisse Orontem, dicit Strab. l. c. et, quod robur huic opinioni addit, Diod. Sic. in Eclog. p. 894, regem Arme-

niorum *Ardoatum* memorat, ad quem opis causa se receperat *Ariarathes*, qui regnum Cappadociæ condidit. Quod si admittatur, regnum Armeniæ fuerit eodem tempore, vel initio motuum bellicorum inter duces Alexandri, ortum; deinde sub Antiocho M. in *duo* divisum; postea in Tigrane rursus *unitum*: adeo ut in colosso pro uno haberi, et per unum pedis *digitum* expingi potuerit.

“Præter hæc regna, quæ sese in amplissimo regno Alexandrino, post ejus mortem, ostentarunt, alia citius alia tardius, duo alia fuerunt, eaque diuturna, et potentissima; alterum *INDICUM*, a Sandrocotto, tempore Seleuci Nicatoris, conditum, cui omnes trans Indum regiones fuerunt subjectæ, vid. App. in Syr. p. 198. Strab. l. xv. p. 1054. Just. l. xv. alterum *PARTHICUM*, ab Arsace sub Antiocho Theo quidem fundamentis jactis, sed sub *Seleuco Callinico* firmatum, et exstructum: qua ratione diversæ auctorum narrationes de tempore orti regni Parthici recte conciliantur, ut jam observavit H. Vales. ad Amm. Marc. l. xxiii. 6, et Rupert. ad Besold. p. 223. Sed quorum ratio hic non habetur, *Indici* quidem, quia partim nimis remotum est *ad* vel *extra* terminos regni Alexandrini, partim non tam occupata fuerit Indiæ aliqua pars, et regno adjuncta, quam victoriose peragrata ab Alexandro, ut ejus historia demonstrat. Taxili et Poro regna reliquit Alexander cum plena potestate, Diod. Sic. l. xviii. p. 588, 619, nec Satrapæ in eas regiones missi fuerunt in regni divisione post Alexandrum; *Parthici* vero, quod non tantum nimis sero fuerit ortum, sed in primis alium conspectum gerat, quam scopus et natura visorum horum requirit. Parthi enim, præterquam quod originitus Scythæ sint, homines plane Barbari, ut ex Just. xli. Arrian. apud. Phot. cod. 58, et aliis patet, ipse etiam Arsaces, regni conditor, *Scythæ* Dais quibusdam, cognomento *Parnis*, Nomadibus imperans, qui Ochum adcolebant, *Parthiam* invasit et occupavit, teste Strab. l. xi. p. 783, novum plane regnum condiderunt, quo regni Alexandrini

partes sunt laceratæ, et distractæ. Pro regno itaque ex Alexandrino orto non est habendum, sed extraneo, novo, hostile et Alexandrini destructore, quod æque ac Romanum iudicio Dei in destruenda imagine Nebucadnezaris, et quatuor feris occidendis, inserviit. De quo postea suo loco. Accedit denique, utrumque, Indicum et Parthicum, longe diutius stetisse, quam horum visorum, quæ ultra tempora Messiæ non tendunt, ut suo loco observavi, scopus permittit. Parthicum usque ad annum 230, post Christum sese porrigit quando Persis sub rege Artaxerxe cessit, uti notum est. Indicum quoque tempore Augusti longe lateque sese adhuc extendit. Porus enim, ut ex Nic. Damasceno narrat Strab. l. xv. p. 1047, Indorum rex, 600 reges habuit subjectos.

“ Patet itaque, regna, post Alexandrum orta, ad *denarium* numerum reduci haud incommode posse : quod nobis sufficit. Etsi enim unum alterumve forte regnum, præter modo memorata, hic illic fuerit : ejus nulla haberi potuit in hisce visis ratio, cum quod minoris momenti et durationis fuerit, tum quod harmonia imaginis, humanam formam præferentis, *denarium* numerum, ob *decem* digitos pedum, requisiverit. Verum quidem est, nonnulla horum regnorum a ducibus et successoribus Alexandri, aut Græcis, non fuisse possessa, ut Ponti, Cappadociæ, Bithyniæ, et Mediæ : sed illud non tantum non obest, cum præcipua regna et potentiora ab iis fuisse fundata sufficiat, verum cum ipso emblemate videtur conjunctum, tantum abest, ut ab eo abhorreat. Præterquam enim, quod unius ejusdem gentis regna non requirant visa, modo post Alexandrum et intra regni ejus pomœria orta sint, *diversitas* materiæ, ferreæ et luteæ, ansam quoque de diversis populis cogitandi præbet. Quemadmodum in superioribus imaginis partibus, *aurum, argentum, æs et ferrum* : sic in extrema hac parte *ferrum et lutum*, ad diversarum gentium regna sese transferri patiuntur, sed non *successiva*, ut in superioribus, verum *simultanea* et *æqualia*, ut ferri et luti mixtura

postulat. Accedit, alios ac Macedonas hic in censum venire, haud obscure ex c. viii. 22. patere, ubi regna, per quatuor cornua expicta, secundum quatuor cœli plagas, adeoque præcipua et principalia, *ex gente Alexandrina* oritura dicuntur, de quo in præcedente Dissert. egi. Quod idem ex cap. xi. 4. roboris forte aliquid acquirit, de quo postea. Denique, ut omnis difficultas hac parte evanescat, notari velim, Barbaros ipsos, ab Alexandro in societatem adsumtos, pro *posteris et successoribus* suis agnoscendos esse, ipsum voluisse et jussisse. Sic, Oxyatræ filia Rhoxane ducta, ad *stabiliendum regnum pertinere*, dixit apud Curt. viii. 4., *Persas et Macedonas connubio jungi* : imo eos ἐπιγόνους *posteris* adpellavit *suos* apud Arrian. l. vii. p. 279, 283. qui proprius est *successorum* Alexandri titulus, ut observavit Ill. Scaliger ad Euseb. p. 127. Hoc nomine inter Alexandri successores legitimum locum tenet Atropates, Philetærus, Mithridates et alii ; quemadmodum omnes, qui orientis et totius Asiæ regionis gubernarunt, διάδοχοι *successores* Alexandri dicuntur, Herodian. l. v. c. 2. a quibus primus *Arsaces* Parthus defecit, et novum regnum condidit, ut ibid. mox addit : cui concinit quod de Persis habet Julian. Orat. i. p. 17, post Alexandrum ab ejus successoribus, deficientibus." Hermannii Venema Dissertationes ad Vaticinia Danielis emblematica. Diss. V. §§. 3-12, pp. 347-364, 4to. Leovard. 1745.

NOTE F.—See LECTURE VI. pp. 343-345.

Mr. Taylor's Interpretation of 1 Tim. iv. 1-3.

Since the foregoing Discourses were delivered, and the greater part of these sheets printed off, I have seen an anonymous publication, very generally attributed to Mr.

Isaac Taylor^{*}, entitled, "Ancient Christianity, and the Doctrines of the Oxford Tracts," in which an interpretation has been proposed, which may perhaps require some notice.

Of the general design of this publication, or of the spirit and qualifications of the writer, it is not my purpose to speak; but the exposition he has given of the prophecy in 1 Tim. iv. 1-3, and the attempt he has made to discover its fulfilment in the ascetic institutions of the ancient Church, deserve our attentive consideration for many reasons. I shall first state our author's theory, and then make some brief remarks upon it.

1. In the first place then, this writer abandons as untenable, the interpretation which supposes this prophecy to have been fulfilled in the Roman Church; on the grounds, that in the sense in which the apostle's words have been applied to that communion, they are equally applicable to the Church Catholic, eastern and western, of the Nicene age. He says,

"But here again we are met by that protestant habit of thinking, which has, in so many instances, impelled the anxious opponents of the papacy to attribute specifically to the *romish* church, what, in truth, belongs to it only in common with the eastern, and with the nicene church. Now, for example, not a phrase occurs in this most remarkable prediction—a prediction announced as 'explicit,' not symbolical, which can equitably be applied to the *papacy*, as distinguished from the church catholic, eastern and western, of the nicene age: each characteristic of the 'apostasy,' as here specified, must have been admitted to have had its accomplishment in the ecclesiastical system of the *fourth* century, even if no such despotism as that of Rome had afterwards come into existence." No. 3. p. 299.

^{*} Author of several other anonymous publications on religious subjects; as, "Saturday Evening"—"The Physical Theory of another Life"—"Home Education," &c.

And again,

“Protestant commentators, in referring to this prediction, have been wont to call it—‘a striking prediction of *popery*.’ But why of *popery*? as well say, ‘of spanish catholicism,’ or ‘of irish catholicism.’ The special marks herein given us, attach, distinctively, neither to the irish, nor the spanish forms of the general superstition; nor to the papacy peculiarly. The romish church, centuries after the monastic institute had been every where established, and long after the time when the celibacy of the secular clergy had been universally assented to as proper, if not indispensable, gave its sanction, formally, to the common opinion, by specific enactments.” Ibid. p. 302.

And lastly,

“But, in fact, this same asceticism has, in an equal degree, affected the western church; nor have protestant commentators hesitated—how should they hesitate in so plain a case?—to avail themselves of this prediction, as marking the apostasy of Rome. Unfortunately, however, in our eagerness—the eagerness natural to controvertists, to attach this brand to the *papacy*, we have too much forgotten that Rome only inherited and shared the more ancient apostasy. What justice, then, or what historical accuracy, is there in the customary protestant comment on this passage—‘a clear prediction of the monastic system of *the romish church*?’ With quite as much propriety might the belief of the resurrection be called ‘a dogma of the papacy.’” Ibid. p. 310.

Without stopping to refute the erroneous views of Church history involved in these statements, it must suffice to observe, that the argument is for substance the same which I have myself employed in refutation of the ultra-Protestant interpretation of this prophecy; an argument, as I conceive, unanswerable. If the words of St. Paul are applicable to the ascetism and celibacy

recommended or enjoined in the Roman communion, they are equally applicable to the Oriental Church; and if this ascetism be a criterion of *apostacy*, then the Church, both of the East and of the West, became apostate at a period very much too early to suit the popular systems of prophetic chronology¹.

I concluded, therefore, that this consequence was enough to indicate a fallacy in the original assumption that the ascetic institutions of the Christian Church are described in the prediction; and I inferred from this and other considerations, that a much more fatal error was intended by the Apostle.

The author of "Ancient Christianity," however, has boldly seized the other horn of the dilemma; he maintains that the ascetism of the fourth century was the fulfilment of the prophecy; and he not only admits, but broadly asserts, as a necessary consequence, *that the Nicene Church was apostate*. In the following passage the capitals are the author's own:—

"Nothing so much favours a bad cause as to load it with more disgrace than strictly belongs to it; for in so doing, we enlist in its defence the best feelings. Popery will live and triumph so long as those corruptions continue to be called *popish*, which, in fact, were much more ancient. In the present instance I appeal to serious and candid minds, competently informed in church history, and ask whether the BRAND OF APOSTACY be not herein fixed by the apostolic hand upon—the nicene church? Perhaps no method more conclusive or concise could be adopted by a conscientious inquirer, in relation to the present controversy, than that of so making himself acquainted with the Ascetic Institution of the *fourth* century, as to be able to reply, for himself, to the question—Whether that

¹ See Lecture VI. pp. 327, 328, 342, sq.

institution meets and satisfies the terms of the predicted apostasy?" p. 310.

Nor is this all; for in discussing the clause of the prophecy "having their conscience seared as with an hot iron," our author employs the following piece of reasoning to show that this characteristic of the apostacy is *less truly applicable* to Popery, than to the Nicene Church. He says:

"On this point, again, let the substantial injustice that has so long been done to the church of Rome, by Protestants, be adverted to and disclaimed. To the vast majority of all who have lived under the shadow of the papacy—clergy and laity, the scriptures have ever been sealed, or at best, very partially known; and not known at all, as to the passages that are flatly opposed to the romish errors. With respect to such, therefore, there did not take place this cauterizing of the conscience; and many affecting instances are on record of the painful sensibility of those who, happening to hear something more than they had heretofore learned of God's word, mournfully exclaimed,—‘If this be God's word, all that we have hitherto been taught, is utterly false.’ But the case was quite otherwise with the nicene church; and this indeed is at once its wonder, its merit in one sense, and its sin in another, that, while the grossest superstitions were promoted, and the most outrageous violations of scriptural piety were practised, the scriptures themselves were copiously read and expounded in the churches, and were actually in the hands of the opulent, at least, and were thoroughly familiar to many of the ascetics^m. In whatever way we may account for this inconsistency, the fact should surely be taken into the reckoning when we are balancing the merits of the nicene and roman churches; and if the particular mark of

^m "It is affirmed by Palladius, Jerome, and others, in their lives of the hermits, that some of them could repeat, memoriter, a large portion of the Scriptures, and some of them the New Testament entire."

a cauterized conscience be in question, it must be granted to attach more directly to those who, knowing fully their Lord's will, yet boldly set it at naught, than to those who, although doing the same thing, knew not that will." p. 306.

It is hardly necessary, perhaps, to call the reader's attention to the extraordinary ignorance displayed in this passage. What can be the amount of that writer's qualifications to instruct the world on the nature and genius of "Ancient Christianity," who is so little acquainted with his subject as to be led away by the weak modern prejudice, that "to the vast majority of all who have lived under the shadow of the Papacy, clergy and laity, the Scriptures have ever been sealed, or at best very partially known."

2. Such then is our author's exposition of the prophecy; and I shall dismiss it with a very few remarks.

It will be seen that he has taken a very superficial view of the prediction; he has overlooked the prominent characteristic, that the predicted apostacy is to take place "in the latter days;" he confounds those who are to forbid marriage, enjoin abstinence, and to be seared in conscience, with those who shall "depart from the faith,"—a mistake that might have been avoided by a reference to the originalⁿ; and he appears to have been altogether unconscious of the violence that is done to the words of the Apostle, in supposing them applicable to Christian ascetism. In particular, the two characteristics of "forbidding to marry," and "commanding to abstain from meats," he is compelled to understand with the same unauthorized limitations which are generally applied to them by the writers who interpret them of the fasting and celibacy of the Roman Church^o.

But all these defects and imperfections sink into insignificance in comparison with the monstrous paradox, that

ⁿ See what I have said on this subject p. 309, sq.

^o See pages 333—341.

the Church of the fourth century was APOSTATE; that the sacred bulwark then erected against the blasphemies of Arius, Sabellius, and other kindred heresiarchs, was raised by the hands of men who had themselves “departed from the faith;” that the holy symbol ever since recited in the most solemn service of the Catholic Church, was the composition of those very monks, and priests, and bishops, upon whose foreheads, this writer tells us, is fixed by Apostolic hand, THE BRAND OF APOSTACY!

Mr. Taylor speaks of some “who, at the present moment, are explicitly or covertly giving it to be understood that they have very little sympathy with the reformers^p ;” let him take heed whither his own sympathies are tending; and if he is not yet prepared to go the whole length of those who have maintained that the *faith* was corrupted by the Nicene fathers, let him not use language calculated only to mislead the weak; let him condemn the ascetism of ancient Christians as severely as he will, but let him not assert, in language that belongs only to the school of Socinus, that the Nicene Church was apostate from the faith. It will not suffice for this writer to say, that he uses the word *apostacy* in an unusual sense; for then we must ask how he justifies such a use of it; neither can he be permitted to tell us that he does not mean apostacy *from the faith*, because the prophecy, which he has undertaken to interpret, expressly speaks of those who shall “apostatize from the faith.” The condemnation of the Nicene fathers, as the first great corrupters of Christianity, has always been the favourite topic of declamation with Arian and Socinian divines; Socinus, speaking of the doctrine that the Father alone is God, says, “*Cognitio ista sine ulla controversia usque ad tempora concilii Nicæni, et aliquanto post, inter eos qui Christum profitebantur, esse non*

^p Part iii. p. 312.

desiit." (Epist. 2. ad Radecium, quoted by Bull. Def. Fidei Nicænæ. Proœm. p. 4. Oxon. 1721.) And Dr. Priestley's History of what he calls the *Corruptions* of Christianity, is full of similar passages: its whole aim indeed is to show that to the Nicene Church may be traced every error and corruption that has since defiled the faith of Christ. In connexion with these facts, Mr. Taylor's work affords a very curious instance of the manner in which errors, apparently the most incongruous and inconsistent, sometimes meet together on a common ground. I have no wish to charge Mr. Taylor with Socinianism; neither do I charge him with an inclination to Popery; yet certain it is, that he has undertaken to defend a position in which Socinians and Papists have preceded him. Of Socinians I have just spoken; and as to Papists it is known, and the fact has recently been again brought before the public, that the occasion of Bishop Bull's celebrated "*Defensio Fidei Nicænæ*," was an attempt very similar to that of Mr. Taylor, (though made by a Jesuit,) to prove that the ante-Nicene fathers were infected with Arian doctrine. And the object of Petavius, no less than of Mr. Taylor, was to undermine the authority of the early Church as a court of appeal against modern error¹.

But as our author has spoken of sympathy with the Reformers, in a connexion which must lead his readers to suppose that the Reformers who were members of the English Church were especially intended, he should have known, if indeed he has any acquaintance with the remains of those venerated theologians, that they would have had but little sympathy with a writer who could speak of the holy fathers as contemptible, and of Nicene Christianity as deserving only "our indignant reprobation." What then

¹ See what Mr. Newman has said on this subject in the second of his "*Lectures on the prophetic Office of the Church*."

did Cranmer mean when he offered to abandon the whole cause of reformation in religion, if authority could be found for Popish errors in any ancient authors?—"Let all the Papists together," he said, "show any one authority for them, either out of Scripture, or ancient authors, either Greek or Latin, *and for my part I will give them place* ¹." Was Jewell serious, or did he mean no more than mockery of his adversaries, when he twice proclaimed from the pulpit of St. Paul's Cross, this well-known and memorable challenge?—"If any learned man of all our adversaries, or if all the learned men that be alive, be able to bring any one sufficient sentence out of any old Catholike Doctor or Father; or out of any old general Councell; or out of the Holy Scriptures of God; or any one example of the Primitive Church, whereby it may be clearly proved that there was any private Masse," &c..... "If any man alive were able to prove any of these articles, by any one cleere or plaine clause or sentence, either of the Scriptures, or of the old Doctours, or of any old general Councell, or by any example of the Primitive Church, *I promised then that I would give over and subscribe unto him* ²." This was a serious offer, and if honestly made, as no doubt it was, implied a full admission of the authority of the tribunal by which these fathers of our Reformation thus voluntarily consented to be judged; and which, be it remembered, was also recognized by an act of parliament, passed in the reign of Elizabeth, and still of force, in which the sense of the Primitive Church, as expressed in the first four General Councils, is declared to be the criterion of heresy ³.

But perhaps it will be said that the Reformers in

¹ Answer to Gardiner, Book iii. (Works by Jenkyns, Oxford edit. vol. iii. p. 184.)

² Jewell. Sermon preached at St. Paul's Cross, the second Sunday before Easter, 1560, prefixed to his works, p. 58, fol. Lond. 1609.

³ See the Act of Supremacy, 1 Eliz. cap. 1. sect. 36.

proposing to rest their cause on an appeal to the early councils and fathers, and to abandon their religion if that appeal proved unsuccessful, did not necessarily acknowledge the *authority* of the ancient Church, but merely meant to express in this strong manner their full conviction of the nullity of the claims of Popery to be the religion of the Apostles. This, however, is a vain subterfuge; for they mention the Scriptures in connexion with the fathers and councils, plainly intimating that they were no more disposed to set aside the authority of the one than of the other; and in fact, if this were not their meaning, they were manifestly guilty of a dishonest artifice: the man who would offer to resign his estate, provided a rival claimant could produce any thing in support of his title out of Johnson's Dictionary, might be very safe in making such a proposition, but every one would perceive that he was evading the real question.

But this is not all, for the Reformers, as Mr. Taylor must know, professed the utmost respect for the Nicene Church;—nay, he himself admits this distinctly:—"What the English reformers had in view," he says, "was ANTI-TIENT CHRISTIANITY, or the doctrine, and discipline, and ritual of the nicene age, and of the times nearly preceding that age; and so far as the altered condition of the social system, and so far as the secular despotism allowed them to follow their convictions, they realized their idea, and probably would have done so to the extent of a close imitation, had it been possible, of all but the more offensive features of that early system^u." With what face then does Mr. Taylor censure others for want of sympathy with the Reformers, when he thus plainly admits that the Reformers aimed at conformity with a system which he himself has denounced as worse than Popery—"I firmly

^u Ancient Christianity, No. I., p. 9.

believe," he says, "that it were, on the whole, better for a community to submit itself, without conditions, to the well-known tridentine popery, than to take up the christianity of Ambrose, Basil, Gregory Nyssen, Chrysostom, Jerome, and Augustine^v."

On Mr. Taylor's system, therefore, the English Reformation was a curse to the country, or would have been a curse, greater than that from which it delivered us, had the circumstances of the times enabled our Reformers to "realize their idea," and to follow out their own convictions.

Well may the author of such sentiments exclaim, "The history of Christianity! Alas, the ominous words, which sink like a mortal chill into the heart^w." Chill indeed, and cold enough, are the views he has gathered from the perusal of it; dark and dismal the distorted picture he has painted of a scene, wherein, no doubt, human infirmity and human passions played a large and painful part, but where an eye not jaundiced may discern too, the brightest examples of human virtue, the most cheering and invigorating proofs of the fulfilment of our Saviour's promise, and of the efficacy of His grace. Hear the words of one whose heart was not chilled against the lessons of the past, whose soul could be thankful for the blessings of the present age, without decrying the religion and the virtues, or magnifying the superstitions and the infirmities of our forefathers: "The

^v Ibid. p. 126. In another place he says, "I boldly say that popery, foul as it is, and has ever been in the mass, might yet fairly represent itself as a *reform upon early Christianity*." (p. 79.) The Italics are our author's own. What then are we to say to a reformation from Popery, that aimed only at bringing us back to that early Christianity upon which Popery itself was a reform? Are not the Papists right in speaking as they so often do of the *pretended* reformation of the English Church?

^w No. I. p. 19.

religion which came not to bring peace but a sword, has accomplished in every age this prophecy of its effects, and they who hate it and its authors, have always anxiously endeavoured to attribute to its inherent character the misery which has arisen from its misapplication and perversion by the frail beings for whose benefit it was sent. It is easy to tell the bare outlines of Christian history, the persecutions which Christianity has undergone in early times, the wars which it has occasioned, the fierce struggle between Churches, 'till victory sickens, ignorant where to rest,' so that the father was against the son, and the son against the father; but it were a grievous error to think that this is a history of Christianity. It wants a heart deeply devoted to God and His cause, to examine all these things, so that it may first see itself, and then show to others, where contests have needlessly arisen, and where they were inevitable, because the evil *will* resist the good, and the good may not be stayed in its course; *where*, in a word, and *how*, the cause of the everlasting Gospel was promoted by the struggles and sufferings of those who loved it, *when* their partial errors delayed and obstructed its course, and *when* they at once had the privilege and the blessing of trying their own faith by the enduring of hardship, and of handing down the blessing to others*."

* The Study of Church History recommended; being the Terminal Lecture in the University of Durham, by Hugh James Rose, B.D. pp. 38, 39.

INDEXES.

בטחו ביחות עד־עד
כי בית יחות צור עולמים

INDEX OF TEXTS CITED.

GENESIS.			1 CHRONICLES.		
		Page.			Page.
i.		377	xxix.	30	106
x.	25	505			
				ESTHER.	
			viii.	14	157
	EXODUS.				
xii.	6	160		JOB.	
xxii.	31	160	vii.	1	115
			x.	7	115
	LEVITICUS.		xiv.	14	115
xxv.	29	20			
xxxviii.	. . . . .	447		PSALMS.	
			lxxxvi.	9	154
	NUMBERS.		xc.	6	491
ix.	22	20	cx.	4	377
xiii.	13, 14	20	cxix.	126	43
xiii.	14	19			
xiv.	34	20		PROVERBS.	
xxiv.	17	285	iv.	18	137
	DEUTERONOMY.			ECCLESIASTES.	
vii.	6	160	v.	1	157
xiv.	21	160	vii.	9	157
xxvi.	19	160			
xxviii.	50	121		ISAIAH.	
xxxii.	8	505	xxii.	12	471
			xl.	2	115, 116
	JUDGES.			12	160
xi.	40	20	lii.	. . . . .	409
			lx.	3	285
	1 SAMUEL.			12	159
xxvii.	7	20	lxii.	12	160
			lxiii.	18	160
	2 KINGS.		lxiv.	4	25
xxii.	20	456		JEREMIAH.	
			ii.	3	160

		Page.			Page.	
JEREMIAH.			DANIEL.			
iii.	19	110	vii.	18	159, 160	
xvi.	14, 15	157		19	41, 70, 279	
xxiii.	8	157		20	41, 93, 104, 145	
xxxi.	8	157		21	107, 149, 150, 162	
l.	. . . . .	409		22	80, 107, 145, 150, 162	
EZEKIEL. *				23	64, 76, 84, 124, 125, 261	
iv.	6	19, 20		24	91, 103, 125, 145	
ix.	4	471		25	104, 105, 111, 114, 144, 149, 162, 211, 213, 215	
xx.	6	110		26	80, 107, 150	
	15	110		27	80, 107, 159, 162	
xxxvii.	21, 22	222		viii.	1-7	108
	25, 28	222			8	108, 141, 145
xxxviii.	. . . . .	166			9	108
	2	166			10	112, 215, 230
	4	166			11	111, 112, 114, 149, 192, 215
	5	166			13	364
	8	167			13, 14	116
	15	166			14	119, 211
	16	167			17	118, 120, 127, 143, 169
	22, 23	67			19	119, 120, 143
	27	167			21	108, 123
xxxix.	2	167			22	125, 141, 145
	4	167			23	89, 124, 125, 141
DANIEL.					24	112, 113, 114, 145, 148, 149, 161, 230
ii.	21	106			25	111, 114, 146, 148, 149, 151
	33	50			26	119, 120, 139, 140, 143
	34	50, 53, 59, 63			27	139, 184
	35	63, 77		ix.	1	79
	35-44	54			24	27, 191
	39	80			27	192
	40	51, 52, 84			31	192
	41, 42	50, 52		x.	1	115, 140, 183
	43	53			5	138, 168
	44	50, 53, 59, 163, 279			13	115
	45	50, 59, 63			14	143, 161, 169
iv.	23	105			15-17	138
v.	30	79		xi.	21	139
vii.	6	173			2	139, 182
	7	65, 84, 461			2-4	170
	8	91, 93, 102, 104, 145			3	141, 152, 182
	8-14	146			4-20	182
	9	11, 72, 107			5	152
	10	107				
	11	70, 104, 107, 279				
	12	70, 77				
	13	107				
	14	107				
	17	76, 78, 124				

		Page.			Page.
	DANIEL.			MICAH.	
xi.	6	152	iv.	8—13	166
	7	152		ZECHARIAH.	
	10	152	xi.	7	465
	11	152	xiv.	1—9	165
	16	110		16, 17	165
	18	152		1 MACCABEES.	
	19	142	i.	5—9	1 73
	20	152		6	505
	21 . . . 147, 148, 152	152		MATTHEW.	
		153, 156, 182	ii.		285
	22	152	v.	11	285
	23	148	iv.	13	305
	24 148, 150	150	viii.	10	285
	25	152		12	163
	27 152, 156, 336	150	xv.	9	298
	28	150		21	298
	30 150, 182, 210	210		28	285
	31 150, 182, 365	365	xix.	28	72
	32 148, 183, 210	210	xxiv.	3	204
	33 150, 183	183		5 95, 97, 281	281
	34 183	183		11 95, 97, 281	281
	35 143	143		12	281
	36 129, 135, 149, 151, 156, 185, 213	213		14	239
	36—38	154		15	218
	36—39	183		15, 16	364
	37 149, 215, 366	366		22	8
	39 154	154		23, 24 92, 281	281
	40 . 142, 143, 155, 156, 180	180		24 . 95, 97, 212, 229, 230	230
	40—45 167, 183	183			281, 316, 354
	41 . 110, 155, 156, 167, 365	365		25 9, 271	271
	45 . 110, 150, 151, 158, 165	165		27	199
		167, 354, 365		31	254
xii.	1 . 21, 127, 151, 161, 212, 225, 365	365		36 23, 202	202
	1—3	159		MARK.	
	2 21, 225, 365	365	vii.	7	298
	4 3, 140, 143	143		24	285
	5 168	168	xiii.	32	94
	6 22, 144, 168, 363	363		32—37	261
	6—13 365	365		33	202
	7 21, 144, 211, 160, 161, 169	169		LUKE.	
	8—9 22	22	i.	32, 33	163
	9 140, 143	143	ii.	9	285
	11 115, 211, 328, 364	364		13	285
	11, 12	117		51	13
	11—13	169	vii.	9	285
	12 211, 367, 417	417			
	13 21, 118	118			

		Page.			Page.
	LUKE.			COLOSSIANS.	
xii.	40	94	ii.	22	299
xiii.	21	57		1 THESSALONIANS.	
xviii.	8	209, 281	iv.	13	193
xx.	34, 35	62		14	193, 198
xxi.	8	312		15	193
xxii.	43	285		15—18	193
xxiv.	4	285		16	201, 253, 366
	25	11		17	94, 366
	JOHN.		v.	1, 2	202
vi.	39, 40	277		2 THESSALONIANS.	
	44	277	i.	8	85
	54	277	ii.	. . . . .	388
xi.	9	379		1	252, 253
	24	277		1, 2	203, 250
xvi.	4	13		1—6	224
xxi.	18, 19	198		1—12	317
	18—23	200		2	94
	ACTS.			3	93, 191, 204, 208, 258, 371
i.	6, 7	23, 163		3—12	250
	7	200, 202		4	99, 214, 250, 265
xiii.	12	297		5	213, 234
xvii.	18	300		6	258
	22	300		6, 7	234, 252
	31	305		7	255, 258
xx	29	252		8	225, 252, 258, 354
	ROMANS.			8—12	250
ix.	31	194		9	296, 316
xii.	7	298		9—10	227, 305
xv.	4	298		9—11	250
	1 CORINTHIANS.			11	296
x.	11	94		11—12	251
xv.	18	201		1 TIMOTHY.	
	24	63, 71	i.	4	302
	51, 52	197		10	299
	51, 53	198	iii.	16	283
	2 CORINTHIANS.		iv.	1	209, 277, 312, 317, 372
v.	1—3	198		1—3	275
	GALATIANS.			3—5	310
ii.	20	297		6	282, 299
	EPHESIANS.			13	298
iii.	1	201		16	298
iv.	1	201	v.	17	299
	14	299, 305	vi.	1	299
	31, 32	350		3	299

		Page.			Page.
	2 TIMOTHY.		iv.	1	297
i.	15	252		3	93, 97, 98
ii.	18	271			293, 294
iii.	1	277, 280		2 JOHN.	
	10	299		7	93, 97
	12	312			
	16	299		JUDE.	
iv.	3	299		17—18	209
	3, 4.	302		18	277
	TITUS.			REVELATION.	
i.	9	299, 305	i.	1	9
	14	302, 312		3	353
ii.	1	299		7	107
	7	299		13	138, 139
	10	297, 299		2	471
	HEBREWS.		vii.	7	58
i.	1	277	x.	2	388
	2	94, 280	xi.	7	105
	6	285		7	93
vi.	2	297	xii.	6	105
	26	280		14	105
	JAMES.		xiii.	2	113
iii.	11	322		3	247
v.	3	277		5	105
	7, 8	197		10	230
	8	94, 280		12—14.	354
	1 PETER.			13	230
i.	4—5	198	xiv.	4—14.	209
	5	277		8	367
	12	351		9—11.	231
iv.	4—7	198		11	263
	7	280		12—14.	354
	2 PETER.			13	201, 367
	13, 14	198		13, 14	316
	19	352	xv.	6	139
	19—21	272	xvii.	8	93
ii.	1	293		12	50, 125, 417
	1—2	209		12, 13	461
iii.	1	305	xix.	11—21.	354
	4	95, 271	xx.	2	21, 385
	1 JOHN.			2	380, 385
ii.	18	93, 96, 97, 197		2—4	18
		277, 316		3	380, 384
	19	297, 816		4	366, 384, 385
	22	93, 96, 293		4, 5	201
				6	117, 366
				7, 8	380
				8	167
				11—15.	380

INDEX

OF MATTERS AND AUTHORS QUOTED.

- ABBO of Fleury, 18, 382. his account of the expectation of Antichrist in the year 1000, 382, sq.
- Aben Ezra, Comment on Daniel, 110.
- Abraham, Rabbi; his prophecy of the coming of Messiah in 1466, 361.
- Abstinence from meats in St. Paul's prophecy; its real meaning, 307. sq. the abstinence of the Roman Church not intended, 339, sq.
- Adso, Abbot of Montier-en-Der, *Tractatus de Antichristo*, 221, 387.
- Æmilii, Paulus, his account of the Waldenses, 432.
- Agobard, Archbishop of Lyons, 375.
- Aimoin, *Vita Abbonis*, 382.
- Albigensian sects, origin of, 28, their doctrine, 29, 428, sq. their *endura*, 309. condemned at the third Lateran council, 416. not to be confounded with the Waldenses, 419, 420. their denunciation of the Roman Church founded on Manichæan principles, 439. the Apocalyptic prophecies applied by them to the Church of Rome, 439.
- Alexander the Great, his victories not foretold in the vision of the ram and goat, 127, sq. nor in the prophecy of the angel, 169, sq. division of Alexander's empire into four, not attested by history, 172. (See Division.)
- Alexander, Natalis. (See Natalis.)
- Allix, Churches of Piedmont, 407, 408.
- Ambrose, Saint, Commentaries falsely ascribed to, 206, 213. *Expositio evang. sec. Lucam*, 378. comm. on the Apocalypse ascribed to, (see Berengaud de Ferrieres,) 380.
- Anacletus II., pseudo-pope, 43.
- "Ancient Christianity, and the doctrines of the Oxford Tracts." (See Taylor, Isaac.)
- Ancient expositors of prophecy, value of their opinions, 15, 16.
- Angel, the prophecy of, in Dan. xi.; not applicable to Alexander the Great, 169, sq. the successors of Cyrus not predicted by the four kings of Persia, 170, sq. the prophecy of the angel not a chronological prediction of modern history, 182, sq.
- Annunciation, the Feast of; its conjunction with Good Friday, 383.
- Anonymi *Tractatus de hæresi pauperum de Lugduno*; origin of the Waldenses, 436, 437. specimen of their reasoning, 441. they called the Roman Church Babylon, 445.
- Antichrist, unanimity of the ancient Church on the prophecies of, 15, 16. origin of the modern opinions of, 26. the modern opinions did not originate with the Waldenses, 27. the opinions of, in the twelfth century, not identical with those adopted at the Reformation, 27, 28. statement of the question between ancient and modern opinions of, 36, 37. controversial application of the prophecies of, 42—44. tendency of human infirmity to apply them to our own times, 46. use of the term Antichrist in Scripture, 91—97. ecclesiastical use of the term,

- 98, sq. no fixed or recognized designation of the Antichrist in the first three centuries, 98, 99. Mr. Faber's opinion that the Pope is not Antichrist, 185. ancient opinion that Antichrist shall be an incarnation of the devil, 227. opinions of the fathers on the miracles of Antichrist, 228. Antichrist shall work miracles, 230. the followers of Antichrist shall be damned, 230. personality of Antichrist, 233. Mede's treatise on, examined, 357, sq. the expectation of the near approach of Antichrist to be found in all ages, 368, sq. Antichrist expected in the year 500, 378. and in the year 1000, 379. sq. the dread of Antichrist in the year 1000 exaggerated by historians, 384, sq. the assertion of the Bishop of Florence that Antichrist was born, 391. the Waldensian treatise on, 399, sq. "Antichrist in the thirteenth century," two essays so entitled, quoted from the British Magazine, 453, sq. (See Beguins.)
- Antoninus, *Summa Historialis*, 394, 465, 485.
- Apostacy; ancient opinion that the apostacy was the disruption of the Roman empire, 205, 206. other ancient interpretations, 206, sq. an apostacy foretold by Daniel, 210. the apostacy to be of short duration, 211. not the corruptions of the Christian Church, 259, sq. the apostacy and the man of sin, signs of our Saviour's coming, 262, sq. the apostacy a departure from the faith, 275. the same apostacy foretold in St. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians and to Timothy, 276, sq. its nature and characteristics, 281, sq. a departure from the communion of the Church, 294, 295. means whereby it shall be established on earth, 295, sq. to be of a Gnostic character, 316. the apostacy not Popery, 317.
- Aquinas, Thomas, his opinion on the question whether Satan can perform a real miracle, 229.
- Arrian, 497, 499. sq.
- Athanasius, St., application of 1 Tim. iv. to the Arians, 312.
- Augsburg confession, Apology for the; its statement of the evils resulting from saint-worship, 290.
- Augsburg, confession of; the Church of Rome a true Church, 324.
- Augustine, Saint, *De Civ. Dei*, quoted, 61, 196, 207. his account of the various opinions of the prophecy that Antichrist shall sit in the temple, 219, 220. tract. de Antichristo, published in his works, (see Adso), 221. his statement of the opinions about that which withholdeth the revelation of Antichrist, 236, 248. his confession of his own ignorance of its real meaning, 241, 242. the word *dæmon* never used by Christians in a good sense, 301. on the Manichæan abstinence from flesh, 311. application of 1 Tim. iv. to the Manichæans, 313. his expectation of the near approach of the second advent, 369. his correspondence with Hesychius, 373. allusions to the tradition that Antichrist was to appear A.D. 500, 378. mentions two opinions on the 1000 years of Satan's being bound, 381.
- Augustulus, son of Orestes, extinction of the Roman empire under, 69.
- Avitus, Saint, Bishop of Vienne, 374.
- Bacon, *De Augmentis Scientiar.* quoted, 4.
- Baluze, *Vitæ Pontiff. Avenion*, 475.
- *Miscellanea sacra*, ed. Mansi, 480.
- Barnabas, Saint, the Epistle of, quoted, 99, 370.
- Baronius, *Annal. Ecclesiast.* quoted, 29, 248, 376, 379, 384, 392.
- *Martyrologium Romanum*, 468.
- Bartholomæus Albicius, or de Pisis; *Liber conformitatum*, 470.
- Basil (Saint) Hom. in Psalmos, 227.
- Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs*, 361.
- Beasts, vision of the four, 63. the fourth beast identical with the fourth kingdom of the image, 64. additional particulars revealed in the vision of the beasts, 64. difficulties in the interpretation of the first three beasts, 75, sq.
- Beguins, 486. extracts from the examinations of, by the inquisitors of Tholouse, 487, sq. their books in the vulgar tongue, 482. fixed the year 1335 for the coming of Antichrist, 489, 493, 494. their three-

- fold division of the order of St. Francis, 489, 490. their doctrine of a twofold Antichrist, 491, 493, 494, 495. their condemnation of the Roman Church, 487, 488, 490, 492, 493. their opinion that Antichrist shall be a Franciscan friar, 496.
- Bellarmino, de Romano Pontifice, 228. de conciliis, 416.
- Ben-Ezra. (Vid. Lacunza.)
- Bengel, Gnomon Novi Testamenti, 93.
- Berengaud de Ferrieres, Comm. in Apocal. (attributed to St. Ambrose), 380.
- Bernard, Saint, Epist. cxxv. his denunciation of the pseudo-pope, Anacletus II., 43. unfair use made of his words by modern expositors of prophecy, 43, 44. Mabillon's note on Epist. lvi., 390. his application of 1 Tim. iv. 1—3, to the heretics of his own times, 314. his account of St. Norbert's opinions about Antichrist, 396, 397. his use of the term *purgatory*, 412.
- Bibliotheca, SS. Patrum, (edit. Galandii), 383.
- ed. Lugdun. 444.
- Blasphemy of the wilful king, 153. of the man of sin, 214.
- Bolland. Acta Sanctorum, 101, 391, 394, 468, 470, 471.
- Bonaventure, his application of the angel under the sixth seal, to St. Francis, 470, 471. this interpretation said to have been received by revelation, 471, 472. his letter to the Provincials of his order describing the miserable state of the Franciscans, 474.
- Bossuet, his admission of the danger of invocation of Saints, 287. his opinion of the language of the Waldensian Treatise on Antichrist, 406. his admission that the Vaudois were not originally heretical, 420, 429.
- Boulay, Historia Academiæ Parisiensis, 475.
- Bouquet, Recueil des Historiens, 387.
- Bramhall, Archbp.; his opinion that the Roman Church is a true Church, 348.
- Breviarium Romanum, 391.
- British Magazine, Essays entitled "Antichrist in the thirteenth Century," 453, sq. (See Horsley, Bishop.)
- Brute, Walter, his interpretation of the 1260 days, 328, 398.
- Bull, Bp., Defensio Fidei Nicænæ, 522.
- Bullarium Romanum, ed. Coquelines, 447, 473.
- Burgh, Rev. Wm.; Lectures on the second advent, 192, 221, 230.
- Burnet, Bp.; his opinion that the Church of Rome still holds the foundation, 349.
- Burton, Dr.; his interpretation of 1 Thess. iv. 13, 193. his opinion of St. Paul's prophecy of the apostacy, 208. his interpretation of "that which withholdeth," 243. his summary of the interpretations of the prophecy, 249, 250. his interpretation of the prophecy in 1 Tim. iv., 312. his judgment that Popish celibacy and fasting are not intended, 317. the opinion that the *τὸ κατίχον* was the Roman empire originated in Tertullian's Montanism, 236.
- Buxtorf, Thesaurus Grammaticus, 360. Institutio epistolaris Hebraica, 361.
- Cabillonense Concilium II.; censures the superstition of pilgrimages, 387.
- Cæsarius of Heisterbach, his account of the first introduction of adoration of the host at Cologne, 415.
- Calmet, Comment. Litterale, 140. his statement of the opinions of the fathers on the miracles of Antichrist, 228, 229. of the opinions of commentators on "the mystery of iniquity," 254.
- Cathari, their opinions, 28—30.
- Ceillier, Histoire des Auteurs Ecclesiastiques, 101, 380, 388.
- Celestine-Eremites, 33.
- Celibacy of the clergy, not foretold in 1 Tim. iv., 333, 516, sq. not peculiar to the Roman Church, 341, sq.
- Centuriatores Magdeburgenses, 395.
- Chandler, Bishop, Vindication of the antiquity and authority of Daniel's prophecies, 67, 68.
- Chapters, the Bible not divided into, until the thirteenth century, 409.
- Chillingworth, 62. his opinion that the Church of Rome is a true Church, 348, 349.
- Chrysostom, Saint, De prophetiarum obscuritate, quoted, 40. interpr. in Daniel, 110. Hom. in 2 Thess. 203,

207. Hom. in Matt., 372, 373. his opinion of the prophecy that Antichrist shall sit in the temple, 220. his opinion on the meaning of that which withholdeth, 236, 238, 242. Nero a type of Antichrist, 248. application of 1 Tim. iv. to the Manichæans, 313.
- Clarius, on Daniel, quoted, 175.
- Clemens Romanus, Epist. ad Corin., quoted, 370.
- Clergy, the; did not encourage the panic dread of Antichrist in the year 1000, 387, sq.
- Clinton's Fasti Hellenici, 171.
- Conciliorum, ed. Hardouin, 376.
- ed. Labbei et Cossart, 394, 416, 438.
- Conrad of Lichtenau, his account of the attempt made by the Vaudois to procure the Papal sanction, 431, 432.
- Constitutiones Apostolicæ, 99.
- Cranmer, Archbp., his challenge to the Papists, 523.
- Crosthwaite, Rev. J. C., his interpretation of "that which withholdeth," 245.
- Critici Sacri, 22, 71, 165, 174, 175, 198.
- Curtius, Quintus, 497, sq.
- Cyprian, Saint, Lib. ad Demetrianum, 95. Epist. ad Magnum, 98, 249.
- Cyrill, Hierosol. Catechetical Lectures, quoted, 88, 218, 219, 371. his opinion of the miraculous powers of Antichrist, 227.
- Cyrus, the successors of, not foretold in Daniel xi. by the four kings of Persia, 170, sq.
- D'Achery; Spicilegium, 29, 386.
- Dæmons, Mede's interpretation of the word inconsistent with its use in the New Testament, 299, sq.
- D'Argentrè Du Plessis, Collectio iudiciorum de novis erroribus, 436, 445, 447, 480, 486.
- David El-David, did not rest his claims to be the Messiah on the day-year theory, 359, sq.
- Days, not taken for years in prophecy, 19, 359. the 2300, 1290, and 1335 days, 116, 117, 169. ancient opinion as to the relative commencement of the 1260, 1290 and 1335 days, 117, 118. the 1290 and 1335 days not fulfilled in the wars of Antiochus, 337. the Jews did not take days for years, 358, sq. (Vid. Mede, Joseph). ancient opinion that the six days of creation denoted each 1000 years, 377.
- Day of Christ, not the destruction of Jerusalem, 253.
- Decretals, 338.
- Dexippus, 497, 501.
- Διδασκαλία, use of the word, in the New Testament, 298, 299.
- Diodorus Siculus, 497, sq.
- Division of Alexander's empire into four, untenable, 172. difference of the ancient and modern commentators who held this opinion, 172, 173. modified opinion, that four of the subdivisions were more remarkable, 175. summary of the history of the successors of Alexander, 175, 176, 497, sq. table of the divisions of Alexander's kingdom, 498, sq.
- Dowling, Rev. John Gouiter, Letter to the Rev. S. R. Maitland on the opinions of the Paulicians, 420.
- Du Chesne, Hist. Franc. Scriptores, 430, 440.
- Echard, Scriptores Dominicani, 436.
- Eisenmenger, Entdecktes Judenthum, 360, 361, 377.
- End. (Vid. Time of the end.)
- End of the world, ancient opinion that the end was at hand, 94, 368, sq. St. Paul's belief that the end was at hand, 194, sq. correspondence between St. Augustine and Hesychius about the end of the world, 373.
- Endura, or fasting to death, practised by the Albigenses, 309.
- Ephraem Syrus, 119, 237, 372, 380.
- Epiphanius, St., his gloss on the words διδασκαλίας δαιμονίων, 301, 302. application of 1 Tim. iv. to the Gnostics, 312. and to the Phrygastæ or Montanists, *ibid.* also to the Hieracitæ, 313. and to the Collyridians and Valentinians, *ibid.*
- Erasmus, Comment. on 2 Thess., 212, on 1 Tim. iv., 278.
- Eruvin, or Miscellaneous Essays, 9, 62.
- Estius, Comment. on 2 Thess., 238, 240. Comm. on 1 Tim. iii. 16, 286.
- Eusebius, Hist. Ecclesiast. 99, 370.
- Exeter, Henry, Lord Bp. of, his charge, 339.
- Eymericus, Directorium Inquisitorum, 475. his summary of Peter John's doctrines, 476, sq.

- Faber, Rev. Geo. S., his unfair quotation of St. Bernard, 43. his interpretation of Dan. vii. 9—11, 72. his explanation of the *diversity* of the little horn refuted, 103. his version and interpretation of Dan. xi. 36—38, 155. his interpretation of the kings of the north and south, 181, 182, the Pope not Antichrist, 185. his supposed discovery of the impediment to the revelation of Antichrist mentioned by St. Paul, 242, 243. his opinion of the duration of the world, 377. his account of the date assigned to the Waldensian treatise on Antichrist, 402. his answer to the objection against its antiquity from its citing Scripture by our present chapters, 409. his account of the Canons of Orleans, 424. refuted, 425.
- Sacred Calendar of prophecy, 71, 75, 103, 112, 113, 123, 136, 155, 158, 177, 179, 181, 182, 185, 242.
- Inquiry into the History and Theology of the Albigenses and Vallenses, 399, 402, 406, 407, 423, sq.
- Fabricsius, Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti, 203.
- Falling away. (See Apostacy.)
- Fasting, superstitious abuse of, not intended in 1 Tim. iv. 339, sq.
- Field, Dr., his opinion how far the Church of Rome is a true Church, 325.
- Fleury, Hist. Ecclesiastique, 386, 411. his admission that the Vaudois were not heretical, 420.
- Florence, the bishop of, his assertion that Antichrist was born in the year 1105, 391. not derived from the day-year theory, 392, sq.
- Fox, John, Martyrology, 396, 397.
- Francis, Saint, opinions of the Spiritual Franciscans, respecting, 32, 33. fanatical attempt to represent his life as an imitation of that of Christ, 467, sq. his stigmata, 467, 468. St. Francis supposed to be foretold by the angel in the Apocalypse, 470, 471.
- Franciscan order, schisms in, 32. Spiritual Franciscans, *ib.* their doctrines, *ib.* fanatical veneration for their founder, 467. controversies amongst the Franciscans respecting the rule of poverty, 472, sq. the miserable state of the order as described by Bonaventure, 474.
- Fratricelli, their opinions, 33. difference between the Fratricelli and Spiritual Franciscans, 486, 489, 490.
- Freeman, Dean, on worship of Saints and Angels, 290.
- Freinsheim, notæ in Q. Curtii Rufi hist. 503.
- Frere, Mr., Combined view, 75.
- Fuesslin, Kirchen-und-Ketzer Historie der mittlern zeit, 420.
- Gallandii Biblioth. Patrum, 383.
- Gallia Christiana, 43.
- Ganz, Rabbi, Vorstius's Latin version of צמח דוד, 361.
- Gentiles, confederation of, against Israel, 164, sq.
- Geoffrey of Loroux, 43.
- Gesta Episcoporum Leodiensium, 389.
- Gibbon, his account of the extinction of the Roman empire, 69. his testimony to the moderate policy of the Romans, 83. cited, 386.
- Gibson, Bishop; preservative against Popery, 290.
- Gieseler, Handbuch der Kirchen-Geschichte, 389, 407, 420, 429, 434, 467.
- Gill, Dr., his commentary on the Prophets, quoted, 53, 63.
- Gilly, Mr.; Narrative of an excursion to the Mountains of Piedmont, 403. his admission about the language of the Waldensian MSS., 408. the noble Lesson published by, 443.
- Giuliani, St. Veronica; her stigmata, and the marks impressed upon her heart, 468, 469.
- Glaber, Rodulphus, his opinion of the fulfilment of the prophecy of the loosing of Satan, 381. quoted, 28, 29, 381, 386.
- Gnostics, not foretold in 1 Tim. iv., 311, sq.
- Godell, Wilhelm, Chronicon, 387.
- Gregory the Great, Moral. quoted, 249. his application of 1 Tim. iv. 1—3, 313. his account of the dream of Redemptus, 374. speaks of Satan as now bound, 380, 381.
- Gregory IX. his bull *Quo elongati* interpreting the rule of St. Francis, 473.
- Gregory X., his Ceremoniale Romanum published by Mabillon, 414.
- Gregory Nazianzen, 219, 372.

- Gregory, St., of Tours, 374.
- Greswell, Mr., his opinion on the primary signification of the term Antichrist, 92. his opinion that by the *Saints* the prophets meant the Jews, 161. his interpretation of St. Paul's prophecy of the great apostasy, 209. quoted, 99, 161, 218, 248.
- Gretzer, his edition of Reinerius contra Waldenses, 444, 446, 447.
- Grotius, his inconsistency respecting the identity of kingdoms, 67, 71. Comm. in Daniel (ap. Crit. Sacr.), 71, 92, 165, 174. comm. in 1 Thess. (ap. Crit. Sacr.), 198.
- Hall, Bishop, his opinion on the doctrine of the Church of Rome respecting marriage, 334, 335. his opinion that the Church of Rome still holds the foundation, 347.
- Hammond, Dr., his commentary on 1 Tim. iv. 1—3, 306, 307.
- Helvicus, Theatrum Historicum, 362.
- Helyot, Histoire des Ordres Monastiques, 391.
- Heriveus, Archbp. of Rheims, his speech at the opening of the council of Troselé, 375, 376.
- Hermas, quoted, 370.
- Heyschius, Bishop of Saldon, his correspondence with St. Augustine about the end of the world, 373.
- Hilarius Diaconus, Comm. on 2 Thess. (ascribed to St. Ambrose), 206, 313.
- Hilary, Saint, of Poitiers, quoted, 372, 379.
- Hippolytus, Saint; Liber de Antichristo, quoted, 156. the spurious book de consummatione mundi, quoted, 219. his opinion that the ten kingdoms of the fourth monarchy will be democracies, 295. his opinion that Antichrist was to appear in the year 500, 378. his lost commentary on Daniel, *ibid.*
- Honorius III. first enjoined adoration of the host, 414.
- Hooker, his opinion of our relation to the Church of Rome, 323. sermon of Justification, quoted, 190. Eccl. Polity, 274.
- Horns, the ten, of the fourth beast; difficulty of finding them in the Roman empire, 73. sq. the little horn of the fourth beast, 102. its characteristics, 103—107. the little horn of the goat, 109. its characteristics, 109—112. denotes the same power as the little horn of the fourth beast, 112. cause of the erroneous opinion that they are different powers, 122. the ten horns of the beast are kings, the horns of the goat kingdoms, 126.
- Horsley, Bishop, his opinion on the value of the ancient expositions of prophecy, 15. his interpretation of the little horns of the beast and of the goat, 129. refuted, 130. his opinion on the idolatry of Antichrist, 154. his exposition of 1 Thess. iv., 15—18, 195. his interpretation of "forbidding to marry," 336. letters to the author of Antichrist in the French convention, (published in the British Magazine) quoted, 15, 130, 154. of the prophetic periods, 119. letter on Isaiah xviii., quoted, 186. his sermons quoted, 195, 196, 212.
- Host, adoration of the, alluded to in the Waldensian treatise on Antichrist, 413, sq.
- Hour, ancient interpretation of St. John's phrase ἐσχάτη ὥρα, 379.
- Hurd, Bishop, his unfair quotation of St. Bernard, 43. his "catalogue of witnesses," 45. quoted, 100, 391.
- Identity of kingdoms, inconsistent principles adopted by commentators respecting, 67.
- Jerome, Saint, his opinion of the division of the fourth kingdom, 50. his opinion of the doctrine of the temporal kingdom of Christ at His second advent, 60, 61. his opinion that Nero was a type of Antichrist, 248. all heretics antichrists, 249. his commentary on Daniel, 21, 105, 118, 134, 147, 150, 154, 156, 171, 173, 227, 237. comment on Jerem. 60, 61. comment on Isaiah, 61. on Micah, 379. Epistolæ, 203, 207, 220, 236, 237, 372, 378.
- Jewel, Bishop, his exposition of the man of sin sitting in the temple of God, 216. his challenge to the Papists, 523.
- Jews, their opinion that prophecy relates only to the days of Messiah, 25. their interpretation of "the pleasant land" in Dan. viii. 9, 110. their deliverance and restoration after the destruction of Antichrist, 158.
- Ignatius, Saint, 370.

- Image, Nebuchadnezzar's vision of the, 48. popular interpretation of, *ib.* inconsistencies in the common interpretation of the fourth kingdom of, 55.
- Innocent I., his decree against the marriage of priests, 334.
- Innocent II., 43.
- Innocent IV., his bull *Quanto studiosius* interpreting the Franciscan rule of poverty, 473.
- Inquisition of Tholouse, the book of sentences of, 310, 439, sq. 487, sq.
- Invocation of Saints, not a formal denial of our Lord's mediation, 287. sq. Bossuet's admission of the danger of, 287.
- Joachim, Abbot of Flore, his political doctrines, 454, sq. predicts the destruction of the Church, 455, 456. his doctrine on the prophecies relating to Antichrist, 457, sq. his opinion of the fourth kingdom and its ten kings, 461. doctrines of Antichrist according to Joachim, 463. the mendicant orders fond of connecting themselves with his prophecies, 465, his supposed prophecies of the mendicants, 465, 466.
- Johannes, Damascenus, *De fide orthodoxa*, 219.
- John XXII. burns the commentary of Peter John on the Apocalypse, 475.
- Josephus, *Antiquit. Judaicæ*, 173.
- Irenæus, Saint, his opinion of the fourth kingdom and its ten kings, 50. his opinion that Antichrist shall sit in the literal temple of Jerusalem, 218. calls the heretic Mark a precursor of Antichrist, 249. application of 1 Tim. iv. to the Gnostics, 312. the world to last 6000 years, 377.
- Isaac, Rabbi, *Chizzuk emunah*, 159.
- Israel, the restoration of, 163.
- Judah, (Rabbi.) b. Bezaleel, *Gebhu-roth Adonai*, 25.
- Junius, Annot. in Daniel. 154, 174.
- Justin, 497, 501.
- Justin Martyr, *Dial. cum Tryphone*, 99, 370.
- Karéxon*, *rò*, its meaning known to the Thessalonians, 235. the opinion that the Roman empire was intended, 235, sq. other ancient interpretations, 238, sq. the difficulty of this expression admitted by the ancient commentators, 240, 241, sq. Dr. Burton's opinion, 243, 244. Bp. Taylor's, 244. Mr. Crosthwaite's, 245.
- King, the eleventh, his characteristics, 103. sq. 145. symbolized by the little horn of the goat, 109, sq. additional characteristics revealed in the vision of the goat, 113, sq. an individual king, not a kingdom intended, 121, 145. king and kingdom not synonymous, 124, 177. the prophecy of the wilful king, still unfulfilled, 136. describes the same events as the visions of the image, of the four beasts, and of the ram and goat, 137, sq. 146, sq. characteristics of the wilful king, 147, sq. his destruction, 150. his blasphemy, 153. ancient opinion of the ten kings, 156, 157. inconsistency of commentators in the interpretation of the kings mentioned in Dan. xi., 177, 178, sq.
- Kingdom; characteristics of the fourth kingdom in the vision of the image, 52. inconsistencies in the common interpretation of the fourth kingdom, 55. Mede's interpretation, 57. sq. Christianity not properly speaking a kingdom, 59, 71. the establishment of our Lord's kingdom on earth at His second coming, a doctrine of the primitive fathers, 60. the fourth kingdom of the image still future, 61, 62, 90. identical with the fourth beast, 64. identity of kingdoms, 67. the fourth kingdom to be destroyed at the second advent, 73. king and kingdom not synonymous in the language of prophecy, 124.
- Lactantius, *Institutiones*, 218, 227, 237, 371. his account of the opinion that Nero was to appear before Antichrist, 246. his opinion of the duration of the world, 377.
- Lacuña, *Venida del Messias en gloria y magestad*, 62. quoted, 68, 69, 76, 78, 381.
- his opinion of the four kingdoms, 68, 78.
- Languedoc, *Histoire generale de*, par les Benedictins de St. Maur, 428, 475.
- Lateran, third council, condemned not

- the Waldenses but the Albigenses, 416, 438.
- Launoy, his statement of the opinion of his Church as to our Lord's mediatorial office, 288.
- Leger, *Hist. generale des eglises Vau-douises*, 401, 409, 443.
- Leo, Peter, St. Bernard's denunciation of, 43.
- Leo, Saint, the Great, 373.
- Leycon, la Nobla; its date, 442, 443.
- Lightfoot; supposes Dan. vii. 9—11, to be figurative, 72. his interpretation of the four kingdoms, 80. his interpretation of St. Paul's prophecy of the man of sin, 252.
- Liguori, St. Alphonsus; his alleged miracles, 291, 292.
- Limborch, book of sentences of the inquisition of Tholouse published by, 310, 439, sq.
- Lives of the Saints canonized at Rome, on Trinity Sunday, 1839, 292, 469.
- Lucius III. first denounced the Waldenses, 416, 434.
- Mabillon, *Acta Sanctorum Ord. S. B.* 382.
- *Annales ord. S. Ben.* 383, 388, 390.
- *Museum Italicum*, 414.
- Maimonides; his account of the impostor David El-David, 360, 361.
- Maitland, Rev. S. R.; his tracts on the 1260 days, 19. his remarks on the lists given by expositors of the ten kingdoms, 75. his summary of Lacunza's arguments on the interpretation of the four monarchies, 79. his opinion that by "*the saints*" Daniel meant the Jews, 161. his statement of the difficulty of supposing the Pope to be Antichrist, 264, 268. his objections to the assertion that the Church of Rome is apostate, 321, 330, sq. on the tendency of modern infidel opinions to abolish marriage, 336. his refutation of the opinion that fasting is described by the abstinence from meats mentioned 1 Tim. iv. 341. his refutation of Mr. Faber's account of the canons of Orleans, 425, sq. first inquiry, quoted, 44, 75, 101. second inquiry, quoted, 20, 51, 232, 300. letter to Rev. W. Digby, quoted, 101. attempt to elucidate the prophecies concerning Antichrist 79, 80, 136, 161. Facts and documents; 310, 408, 409, 419, 430, 431, 432, 439. letter to Rev. W. H. Mill, 419, 424, sq.
- Malvenda, *De Antichristo*, 157, 158, 220, 228, 237, 381.
- Man of Sin; identical with the wilful king and little horns of Daniel, 212. his destruction, 225. he shall work miracles, 226, 227, sq. his followers shall be damned, 230. the man of sin an individual, 233.
- Manichæism of the Cathari and Albigensian sects, 28, 29. the Waldenses not chargeable with, 30. the ancient Manichees not foretold in 1 Tim. iv. 311, sq. no consent of ancient authors in fixing the prophecy to the Manichæan heretics of any one period, 314.
- Mapes, Walter, his account of his disputation with the Waldenses at the third Council of Lateran, 434, 435.
- Marriage, a total prohibition of it implied in the words *καὶ λυόντων γαμῆν* 306. marriage not prohibited absolutely in the Church of Rome, 333. infidel doctrines respecting, 336, sq. doctrine of the canon law respecting the validity of, 338.
- Martene and Durand; *Veterum Script. et monum. amplissima collectio*, 389.
- *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, 436, 445, 446.
- Martin, Saint, of Tours. (See Sulpitius Severus.)
- Mauzzim, 153, 154.
- Mayence, pretended prophetess of, 376.
- M'Caul, Rev. Alexander; remarks on an article in the 9th number of the *Morning Watch*, 19.
- Meats, meaning of the word, in St. Paul's prophecy, 307, 308. mistakes of commentators as to its meaning, 308. not the religious abstinence of the Church of Rome, 339, sq.
- Mede, Joseph, works, quoted, 16, 19, 44, 45, 58, 59, 63, 71, 73, 97, 106, 157, 181, 201, 225. his argument to set aside the authority of the primitive Church in the exposition of prophecy, 17. his theory that the fulfilment of the prophecies about Antichrist began in the 12th cen-

- tury, 17, 18. unscriptural foundation of this theory, 19—26. his error in attributing the modern doctrine of Antichrist to the Waldenses, 27. his interpretation of the stone "cut out without hands" in Nebuchadnezzar's vision, 57, sq. his argument to prove the Roman empire the fourth kingdom, 71. his exposition of 1 John, ii. 18, 97. his exposition of Dan. ii. 21, 106. his explanation of the phrase *ισχάτη αἰῶνα*, 277. sq. his interpretation of "the last times," 278, 279. his interpretation of the words "some shall depart from the faith," refuted, 283, sq. his interpretation of "seducing spirits" and "doctrines of devils," refuted, 296, sq. his application of Epiphanius's gloss on the words, 301, 302. his version of 1 Tim. iv. 1—3, 304, 305. his opinion that the Church of Rome did not err in fundamentals, 322, 323. his treatise, "Revelatio Antichristi," examined, 357, sq. his interpretation of the 1290 and 1335 days, 363, sq. its difficulties as an exposition of the prophecy, 364, sq. his theory of the fulfilment of the prophecy, 367. refuted, 368, sq. his errors respecting the Waldensian treatise on Antichrist, 399, sq. his interpretation of the 1335 days untenable, 417, 418. his mistake of confounding the Albigenses and Waldenses, 419.
- Meuschen, *Novum Test.*, ex Talmude illustratum, 25.
- Miracles of Antichrist, 228.
- Mirandula; Opera, 362.
- Monasticism, not peculiar to the Roman Church, 341, 516, sq.
- Moneta; his allusion to the application made by the Vaudois to the Pope, 433. quoted by Mosheim, 446.
- Morland, Sir Samuel, his account of the Waldensian treatises on Antichrist and on Purgatory, 405.
- Morland, Sir Samuel; history of the Evangelical Churches of Piedmont, 403, 405, 416, 443.
- Mosheim, *Institutiones Historiæ Ecclesiast.* quoted, 18, 29. his account of the prophecies of Montanus against the Roman empire, 236, 237. his account of the expectation of Antichrist at the beginning of the 11th Century, 384. his account of the heresies of the Albigenses, Cathari, &c., 420. on the name Albigenses, 428. his statement of the difference between the Italian and Ultramontane Vaudois, 446. his account of the difference between the Fratricelli and Spirituals, 486, 487.
- Mountain, the glorious holy; Antichrist shall plant his tabernacle there, 158.
- Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 394.
- Mystery of iniquity, 224, sq. (See Nero.) heresy supposed to be foretold, 247, sq.
- Natalis, Alexander; the coming of the Lord not the destruction of Jerusalem, 253. his interpretation of the prophecy of the Man of Sin, 256, 257. his answer to the objection against invocation of the saints, 288.
- Nebuchadnezzar; his vision of the image, 48.
- Nero, the opinion that he was foretold as "the mystery of iniquity," 246, sq.
- Newman, Rev. J. H., lectures on the prophetic office of the Church, 522.
- Newton, Bishop, his unfair quotation of St. Bernard, 43, 100, 101. his admission that the sub-divisions of the Roman empire were not always ten, 74. his parallel between the king of the north in Daniel and Gog in Ezekiel, 166. his interpretation of the kings of the north and south, in Dan. xi., 181. his explanation of the Man of Sin "sitting in the temple of God," 216. his inconsistencies in the application of 1 Tim. iv. 1—3, to the corruptions of Popery, 343, 344, sq. dissert. on the prophecies, quoted, 137, 177, 179, 181, 203.
- Newton, Sir Isaac; his opinion of the use to be made of prophecy, considered, 9, 10. his opinion that the four beasts are still alive, 70. his opinion of the ten horns, 74. his observations on the prophecies of Daniel and St. John, quoted, 9, 10, 70, 74, 77, 175.
- Nice, Council of, rule of the, inconsistent with adoration of the Host, 414.

- Nicene Church, Mr. Taylor's paradox respecting, 518, sq.
- Norbert, Saint, Archbishop of Magdeburgh, 391. his opinions of Antichrist, *ib.* not derived from the day-year theory, 396, sq.
- Nouveau Traité de Diplomatie, 390.
- Obscurity of prophecy, not designed to discourage the study of it, 11, 12. obscurity of the prophecy of the wilful king, 151.
- Oecumenius, comment on 2 Thess. 207. comment on 1 Tim. iv. 3, 308, 314.
- Olivii, Petrus Johannes; his doctrines, 475. summary of, as given by Eymericus, 476, sq. articles extracted from his *Postilla super apoc.* by certain Doctors of Theology, 480, sq.
- Oracula Sybillina, 218.
- Orders, the mendicant, their origin, 31.
- Origen, his observation on the moderation of the Romans as one of the secondary causes of the spread of Christianity, 83. his assertion of the connexion between 2 Thess. ii. 1—6 and the prophecies of Daniel, 224. the word *dæmon* never applied by Christians to holy angels, 300, 301.
- Orleans, the canons of, 28, 423, sq.
- Orosius, 497, 502.
- Oudin, *De Scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, 470, 475.
- Palestine; Antichrist shall perish there, 158.
- Palmer, Rev. Wm., quoted, 266. his statement of the danger of resting the cause of Protestantism on the prophecies about Antichrist, 270. cited, 324.
- Pandulphus Pisanus. (Vid. Petrus Pisanus.)
- Patrick, Dr. John; the Virgin Mary misrepresented by the Roman Church, 290. devotions of the Roman Church, 291.
- Paulician heretics, the parents of the Albigensian sects, 29.
- Paulus Æmilius speaks of the Vaudois as a religious order, 432.
- Pauperes de Lugduno, (Vid. Waldenses,) their differences from the pauperes Lombardi, 446, sq.
- Perrin; his account of the Waldensian treatise on Antichrist, 401, sq.
- Perrin, Hist. des Albigeois, 401.
- Perrin, Hist. des Vaudois, 404, 416.
- Petavius; his attempt to disprove the orthodoxy of the ante-Nicene fathers, 522.
- Peter of Vaux Sernai; his account of the Waldenses, 429. of the Albigenses, 440.
- Petrus de Pillichdorf, 444.
- Petrus Pisanus, 394.
- Persia, the four kings of, in Dan. xi. not the successors of Cyrus, 170, sq. list of the kings of, from Xerxes to Alexander, 171.
- Photius, 378, 497, sq.
- Pilgrimages to Palestine; did not originate at the year 1000, 385, sq. their real origin, 386.
- Pithou, *Codex Canonum*, 382.
- Platina, *De vita Pontificum*, 394.
- Pliny, Hist. Naturalis, 108.
- Poli Synopsis Criticorum, 174.
- Polycarp, Saint, 98.
- Pope; origin and rise of the opinion that the Pope is Antichrist, 28.
- Prejudices against the study of prophecy, 5—9.
- Priestley, Dr., object of his book, entitled *History of the Corruptions of Christianity*, 522.
- Primasius, Bishop of Adrumetum, comm. in 2 Thess. 206.
- Prophecy, fulfilled, its relation to unfulfilled, 3, 4. duty of studying the unfulfilled prophecies, 5. prejudices against the study of, 5, 9. obscurity of, not designed to discourage the study, 11, 12. Jewish opinion that prophecy relates only to the days of Messiah, 25. tendency of expositors to regard the events of their own times as fulfilments of prophecy, 46, 47. controversial expositions of, injurious to the cause of truth, 350, sq.
- Purgatory, the Waldensian treatise on, 404, 405. the word *purgatory* not used before the middle of the 13th century, 411.
- Raderus, Matthew, ad Q. Curtii Rufi hist. commentarii, 498, 503.
- Raumer's *Geschichte d. Hohenstaufen*, 467.
- Raynaldi Annales, 33, 475.
- Raynouard, *Choix des poesies originales des Troubadours*, 406.
- Reformation; the progress of the, injured by the attempt to represent Popery as Antichrist, 269.

- Reformers, the Anglican, their recognition of the authority of the Primitive Church, 522, sq.
- Reinerius Saccho, describes the Waldenses as orthodox in all the articles of the creed, 430. his summary of Waldensian doctrine, 444. who he was, *ibid.* mentions the claim of the Waldenses to antiquity, 443, 444. his *Summa de Catharis et Waldensibus*, as published by Martene and Durand, 446. sq.
- Richard Cœur de Lion, his interview with the Abbot Joachim, 460.
- Roman empire, supposed to be the fourth kingdom of the image, 48. difference of the ancient and modern commentators who held this opinion, 49. inconsistencies of the modern opinion, 55. the evidence on which it rests insufficient, 67. the question whether the Roman empire be now extinct, 69. argument of commentators to prove the Roman empire the fourth monarchy, 71. not necessarily foretold in the visions of the image and of the beasts, 78, sq. the Roman empire remarkable for moderation towards the vanquished, 83.
- Roman Church, origin of the opinion that the prophecies of Antichrist were fulfilled in, 27, 28. this opinion very popular with three different families of reputed heretics prior to the Reformation, 28, sq. held by the Albigensian and Waldensian sects on different grounds, 30, 31. the Roman Church has not directly apostatized from the faith, 318, 319, sq. 346, sq. the Church of Rome a true Church of Christ, always maintained by Anglican divines, 322, 323, 347. does not possess the characteristic marks of the apostacy, 329, sq. doctrine of the Roman Church respecting marriage, 334, 335.
- Rose, Rev. Hugh J., his Terminal Lecture on the study of Church history.
- Rosenmüller, Scholia, 92, 116, 118, 119, 120.
- Saadia Gaon, (Rabbi) Comment on Daniel, 160.
- Sabbatati or Insabbatati, the Waldenses why so called, 429.
- Sabellicus, *Enneades*, 393.
- Sacrifice, the daily, cessation of, 114, sq.
- Saints, the; denote the Jewish people, 159, 160.
- Saint-worship, not apostacy, 287, sq. decree of the Council of Trent on, 287. its practical evils, 290. not peculiar to the Roman Church, 329, 330.
- Satan, binding of, supposed to have taken place at the incarnation, 380. (See *Thousand*.)
- Schabbath, *Codex*, 25.
- Schelhorn *Aménitates Literariæ*, 475.
- Schmid, Der Mysticismus des Mittelalters in seiner Entstehungsperiode, 420.
- Schott, Andrew, 498.
- Scott, Mr.; his commentary on 1 Thess. iv. 15—18, 195.
- Scripture of truth, signification of the phrase, 139.
- Sedulius, *Collectin Epist. Paulin*, 206.
- Sedulius, Henry, *Apologeticus adversus Alcoranum Franciscanorum pro libro conformitatum*, 470.
- Sentences. (See *Inquisition*.)
- Seventy weeks, the prophecy of, 191.
- Sherlock, Bishop, *Discourses on the use and intent of prophecy*, quoted, 7, 22, 23.
- Socinus, 521.
- Solomon (Rabbi) Jarchi; quoted, 110, 115, 121, 159.
- Spirits, evil, agency of, in bringing about the apostacy, 303.
- Spiritual Franciscans, their opinions respecting St. Francis, 32, 33. their schism with the rest of the order about the rule of poverty, 473. difference between the Spirituals and the Fratricelli according to Mosheim, 486. according to the Beguins, 489.
- Stephen de Borbone, or de Bellavilla, his account of the Waldenses, 435, 436, 445.
- Stigmata of St. Francis, 467, sq. probably inflicted by himself, 468. stigmata of St. Veronica Giuliani, 468, 469.
- Stone, the, in the vision of the image, Mede's interpretation of, 57. objection to the opinion that its fall upon the feet of the image is still to come, 62, 63.
- Strype, *Memorials of the Reformation*, 388.
- Suetonius, 246.

- Suicer Thesaurus Ecclesiasticus, 92, 201, 202.
- Sulpitius Severus, his opinion of the divisions of the fourth kingdom, 51. his testimony to the opinion of St. Martin of Tours, that Antichrist shall fix his seat at Jerusalem, 219. that Antichrist shall be possessed by an evil spirit, 227. that Nero shall appear in the West and Antichrist in the East, 247. Nero to be himself Antichrist, *ibid.*
- Sylvester, Pope, why denounced by the Waldenses, 442, sq.
- Tacitus, 246.
- Talmud, Cod. Schabbath, 25.
- Taylor, Bishop Jeremy, his interpretation of "that which withholdeth," 244.
- Taylor, Mr. Isaac, his interpretation of 1 Tim. iv. 1—3, 515, sq. refuted, 520, sq. his assertion that the Nicene Church was apostate, *ibid.* his sympathy with the reformers, 522. his admissions as to the views of the English reformers, 524. his opinion as to the relative value of Popery and primitive Christianity, 524, 525.
- Temple of God; the man of sin shall sit there, 215. sq. the literal temple of Jerusalem intended, 217, 218. the figurative interpretation began in the fourth century, 219. restoration of the temple at Jerusalem expressly foretold, 221, sq. The figurative interpretation of the temple of God, inconsistent with the Protestant doctrine that the Pope is Antichrist, 222. the literal interpretation more consistent with the prophecies of Daniel, 223, 224.
- Tertullian, De Resur. carnis, 203, 205, 218, 236. adv. Marcion, 218. Apolog., 236. De fuga, 370.
- Theodore, 120, 138, 157, 158, 173, 196, 201, 207, 220. his opinion that Antichrist shall work miracles, 227. his argument against the interpretation which makes τὸ κατέχον the Roman empire, 238, 239, 242. his exposition of the mystery of iniquity, 249. comment on 1 Tim. iii. 16, 286. application of 1 Tim. iv. to the Manichæans, 313.
- Theodorus Studites, 375.
- Theodotian, his version of Dan. xii. 8, 23. his version of Dan. viii. 11, 111. his version of Dan. xi. 20, &c. 153. of Dan. x. 1, 184.
- Theodulphus, Bishop of Orleans, 374, 375.
- Theophanes, Confessor, 359.
- Theophylact, comm. in 2 Thess. 207.
- Thessalonians, their error respecting the coming of our Lord, 203, sq.
- Thomas de Celano, Vita S. Francisci, 470.
- Thousand years of Satan's being bound, 380. not always taken for literal years by the ancients, 381.
- Tillemont, his account of the extinction of the Roman empire, 69, 248.
- Time of the end, a season not very long preceding the second advent, 24, 118—120. "The last time," signification of the phrase, 93. the period of a time, times and the dividing of a time, 105, 143, 168. events of the time of the end, 155. the latter times, 277, sq. synonymous with the last times, 279, 280.
- Tracts for the Times No. 83; exposition of St. Paul's prophecy of the man of sin, 255.
- Trent, council of, decree on Saintworship, 376.
- Trithemius; Chronicon Hirsaugiense, 376.
- Trollope, Mr., his exposition of the words ἀπέχεσθαι βρώματων, 308.
- Tyso, Mr. Joseph, his table of the discrepancies of commentators on the ten kingdoms, 75. his opinion of the prophecy of the seventy weeks, 192. his table of the dates assigned by commentators to the commencement of the reign of Antichrist, 264, 265.
- Ughelli, Italia Sacra, 395.
- Ulat, the river, 108.
- Urspergensis, Abbas. (Vid. Conrad of Lichtenau.)
- Ussher, Archbp., De Christianarum ecclesiar. successione, 385, 435.
- Vaudois. (See Waldenses.)
- Venema, Dissert. ad Vaticinia Danielis Emblematica, 81, 128. his abstract of the history of Alexander's successors, 504, sq.
- , his interpretation of the fourth kingdom and its ten kings, 128.
- Victorinus, his opinion that Nero shall re-appear as Antichrist, 247.

Vincentius, St., of Lerins, 373.

Vision of the image, (vid. Image,) of the four beasts, (vid. Beasts,) of the ram and he goat, 107, sq. relation of the vision of the beasts to that of the ram and goat, 126. the latter vision not a prophecy of Alexander's victories, 127, sq.

Vitringa, 'Ανακρισις Apocalypseos, 16.

Vorstius, Latin version of the Chronology of R. Ganz, 361.

Wadding, Annales Minorum, 101, 465, 466, 468, 471, 472, 473, 475, 485.

Waddington's History of the Church, 389.

Wagenseil, Tela ignea Satanae, 19, 20, 159.

Waldenses, not the authors of the modern doctrine of Antichrist, 27. their doctrine free from Manichæan errors, 30. Waldensian treatise de Antichristo, 399. its pretence to antiquity disproved, 399, sq. grounds upon which the date of 1120 was assigned to it, 401. internal evidence of a later date than the twelfth century, 408. Waldensian treatise on Purgatory, 404, 405. the Waldenses first anathematized by Lucius III., 416. not condemned by the third Lateran council, *ibid.* not chargeable with Manichæan errors, 421, 430, 438. their origin, 428. sq. their attempt to procure the

papal sanction, 430, sq. their disputation with Walter Mapes at the third Lateran council, 434, 435. their denunciation of the Church of Rome, 440. its earliest form, 440, sq. their condemnation of the temporal possessions of the Church, 442, sq. doctrinal differences between the Vaudois of Lyons (Pauperes de Lugduno) and of Lombardy, (Pauperes Lombardi), 446, sq. fourteen opinions common to the two sects, 449, sq. peculiar tenets of the Lombardy Vaudois, 450, 451. the manners and discipline of the Waldenses imitated by the mendicant orders, 467.

Waldo, Peter, 30.

Wars, Waldensian, alluded to in the Waldensian treatise on Antichrist, 412.

Wetstein, his interpretation of the prophecy of the man of sin, 251.

Wharton, Henry, Anglia Sacra, 390.

Whitby's interpretation of the apostasy, 252. his exposition of the words "seen of angels," 285. of "commanding to abstain from meats," 308.

William of Puy Laurens, his account of the Waldenses, 430.

Wolff; Bibliotheca Hebræa, 362.

World, duration of; ancient opinion that it was indicated by the six days of creation, 377.

Years. (See Days.)



- Page** 80, line 14, *for* 29 *read* 39.
 — 105, — 4 from bottom, *for* 13 *read* 23.
 — 136, — 6 from bottom, *for* investigate *read* elucidate.
 — 156, — 19 from bottom, *for* 26 *read* 36.
 — 156, — 5 from bottom, *for* 26 *read* 36.
 — 209, — 11, *for* Jude xvii. 18, *read* Jude, 17, 18.
 — 247, — 14, *for* constant *read* constat.
 — 247, — 16, *for* ipsum gladium *read* ipsum.
 — 287, — 8 from bottom, *for* semblable *read* semblable.
 — 376, — 18, *for* assigns *read* as signs.
 — 384, — ult., *for* millennium *read* millesimum.
 — 392, — 4 from bottom, *for* Uspergensis *read* Urspergensis.
 — 461, — 2, *for* he *read* the.
 — 470, — 3 from bottom, *for* 1810 *read* 1510.
 — 517, — ult. page 518, lines 3 and 15, and page 520, line 26, *for* ascetism *read* asceticism.

